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MANUAL OF MYTHOLOGY

MAXIME COLLIGNON

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MANUAL

OF

MYTHOLOGY,

IN RELATION TO

GREEK ART.

BY

MAXIME COLLIGNON,

Late Member of the École Française, Athens.

TRANSLATED AND ENLARGED BY

JANE E. HARRISON,

Author of "Myths of the 'Odyssey,'" "Introductory Studies in Greek Art," "Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens," etc.

WITH ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHT ILLUSTRATIONS.

NEW AND CHEAPER EDITION, REVISED.

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PREFACE.

IN bringing M. Collignon's admirable manual before the notice of English readers, a word of explanation is necessary as to its precise purport. The value of the book to students of art and archæology will best be appreciated if its precise limits are clearly defined. Its subject is not mythology in general, but strictly and solely mythology as seen in art. Literature is cited, but only in so far as it throws light upon the conceptions of art. All questions dealing with the origins of myths and their literary variations are of necessity set aside. The book is intended, in fact, to supplement, not to supersede, existing handbooks.

This study of the mythology of art is as yet so new in England that we have not yet invented for it so much as a convenient name. French writers use the happy and expressive term "*Mythologie figurée*." Germans have adopted the more convenient word "*Mythography*," which is already beginning to appear in technical English writings on the subject. Mythography has in Germany been for many years matter of assiduous study. The results of the labours of German archæologists are embodied in the various large works of reference cited

in the introductory bibliography. These are accessible in the archæological libraries of the British Museum, Oxford, and Cambridge, but not easily available to the elementary student. To them must be added a long and ever-increasing series of monographs, chiefly in German, but of late years also in French, Italian, and English, published by the various periodicals of archæological institutes and societies. As M. Collignon himself says, the difficulty of the subject is rather in the variety and scattered abundance than in the lack of material.

The plan of this book is as follows. A brief summary is first given of the general principles that govern the formation of types in art; the development of the type of each god or goddess, genius or hero, is historically considered. In a matter like this it is essential that the method should be historical; only so can it appear that the development of art types is subject to the same laws, follows the same inevitable sequence of development and decay, as may be observed in any other department of human civilization.

True to the historical method, M. Collignon has been careful to select not only monuments in themselves mature and beautiful, but also those which are the outcome of the rudest archaism. Such early works are indeed of special value; we stand at the present moment much in need of a reaction against a habit of mind resulting from certain educational conventions. Most students are more familiar with the Græco-

Roman statues from which the Renaissance drew its inspiration than with works of a pure Greek period; they know their Apollo Belvidere and their Venus de Medici better than their Parthenon marbles. These Græco-Roman marbles, inferior as they are from the point of view of art, are still more valueless to mythology; they do but re-echo a theme already hackneyed. If we would know the truth about the origin of mythological types, it is to archaic art we must look,—to a time when the utterance of the artist, if sometimes rude and inarticulate, was always robust and sincere. Truth with the early artist comes even before beauty; as yet he works for a people whose faith is more developed than their senses.

The study of mythography is in England yet in its infancy, but it may safely be prophesied that not many years will elapse before it becomes not only part of the advanced discipline of the classical scholar, but also an indispensable and attractive element in classical school teaching. M. Collignon's manual offers an admirable introduction to the study, and as no English handbook exists a translation was much needed.

The constant advance of archæological discovery has rendered considerable correction and addition necessary. Some new illustrations have been added, and the references and bibliography enlarged.

JANE E. HARRISON.

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   b. Annali dell' Inst., etc., from 1829. Texts to these plates. Rome. (*Ann.*)

c. Bullettino dell' Inst., etc.. from 1829. Current report of discoveries for each year, accompanying the above. Rome. (*Bull.*)

d. Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archæologischen Instituts, from 1876. Athens. (*Mitt.*)

e. Archæologische Zeitung, from 1829, from 1886. Berlin. (*A. Z.*)

These publications were reorganized as follows :—

(*a*) *Antike Denkmäler herausgegeben vom Kaiserlich Deutschen Archæologischen Institut*, from 1886. Berlin. (*A. D.*)

(*b, c*) *Mittheilungen des K. D. A. I. Rœmische Abtheilung*, from 1886. (*Mitt. R. A.*)

(*d*) *Mitt. des K. D. A. I. Athenische Abtheilung*, from 1886. Athens. (*Mitt.*)

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GREEK MYTHOLOGY.

INTRODUCTION.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF TYPES IN ART.

CHAPTER I.

REPRESENTATION OF THE GODS IN EARLY ART.

THE FIRST CULTUS IMAGES AND STATUES IN WOOD.

Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece;* C. Bœtticher, *Der Baumcultus der Hellenen;* Overbeck, *Das Cultusobject bei den Griechen; Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, by Ch. Daremberg and E. Saglio, articles "Arbores Sacræ," "Bætylia," and "Argoi Lithoi"; Fr. Lenormant, "Les Bétyles," in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, year 2, t. iii.; Percy Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, and Head, *Historia Nummorum*, for the evidence of coins.

UP to the time when epic poetry gave to the Greek gods a moral aspect and a character that lent itself to plastic treatment, and by so doing stimulated the development of the representation of types in Greek art, cultus images were merely the rudest likenesses of human figures. In the earliest times, indeed, if we are to believe the statements of the ancient writers,

worship was directed towards natural objects supposed to contain the divinity within them. Thus the Artemis Soteira of Boiæ was a myrtle,[1] and at Orchomenus a statue of the goddess placed on the bough of a cedar bestowed sanctity on the remains of an earlier tree worship.[2] A coin of Myra (fig. 1) shows the statue of the mother of the gods among the branches of a tree, and will perhaps make this early tendency more intelligible to the reader. The tops of high mountains, frequently struck as they are by lightning, were the seat of the godhead of Zeus. An allusion to this primitive worship is perhaps to be found in the coins of Cappadocia, where the summit of Mount Argæus on an altar is represented. But it would be rash to attempt an accurate classification of the first manifestations of religious feeling, for they are only known to us by traditions collected together at a comparatively late date. In one point, however, all the traditions agree: primitive worship required no emblems fashioned by men's hands. The faith of the believer found its inspiration in the presence of natural objects, filled full with the power of the divinity.

Fig. 1.—Coin of Myra.

In the earliest times, one of the commonest forms of worship was that of unhewn stones. In the days of Pausanias the traveller was still shown by the guides in the temples, rude stones which were supposed to be

[1] Pausanias, iii., 22, 12. [2] *Ibid.*, viii., 13, 2.

the oldest images of the gods. Thus at Thespiæ a rough stone (ἀργὸς λίθος) was preserved as being an archaic representation of Eros.[1] Tradition often assigned a supernatural origin to such stones; they were said to have fallen from heaven, like the three stones at Orchomenus which represented the Charites. Such traditions probably preserve a reminiscence of the Semitic worship of Bætyli,[2] or meteoric stones, whose strange form, black colour, and unexplained origin seem to have made a vivid impression on the imagination of early civilisations, with the result that a supernatural character was readily assigned to such stones as by some distinctive mark lent themselves to the illustration of a sacred story. The bætyl of eastern nations explains the ἀργὸς λίθος of the Greeks. This form of worship was very common in Syria and Phœnicia, and may easily have been introduced into Greece from Crete. On the other hand, the cult of rude stones seems to have been common to primitive man in many lands, and is not even now extinct among savages. It was long before it died out in those Greek countries which were most profoundly penetrated by Oriental religions. At Antibes, in the south of France, an egg-shaped stone has been found with the inscription: "I am Terpon, a servant of the goddess, the most ancient Aphrodite." The stone must have been a bætyl, or something of the kind, dedicated by an inhabitant of Antipolis to one of the lesser divinities that attend upon the Cyprian Aphrodite.[3]

[1] Pausanias, ix., 27, 1.

[2] The Greek word βαίτυλος is a simple transcription of the Phœnician "Bêth-ûl."

[3] Heuzey, *Acad. des Inscrip.*, 1874.

To give to these unhewn stones a regular symmetrical form, though of a very rudimentary kind, was a natural step in primitive development. The conical-shaped stone would seem to be a modification of the bætyl. On the coins of Ceos, Zeus and Hera are represented in the form of conical stones, and the coins of Cyprus, where Aphrodite Astarte (Ashthârth) of Paphos is similarly represented, show that the Greeks may have been indebted to the Syro-Phœnicians also for this form of idol. In some cases a pyramidal shape is given to the stone, or its length and narrowness are increased, and we have a column or a pillar; the different modifications do not, so far as has been ascertained, follow in any chronological order. At Sicyon the oldest form of Zeus Meilichios was a pyramid, while that of Artemis Patroa was a column. The oldest form of Hera at Argos was also a column. An allusion to these ancient forms of the goddess has been found by some writers in a Pompeian painting, which represents some Loves and a Psyche sacrificing before a column, to which are fastened a fillet (or perhaps a wreath) and a sceptre. In some places, as for instance in Arcadia, the sacred stones often took the shape of four-sided pillars or cubes. In a sacrificial scene on a vase painting, Zeus is represented by a square pillar resting on a basis and inscribed as "of Zeus" (ΔΙΟΣ), and Pausanias saw a figure of Zeus Teleios in a similar form at Tegea.[1]

[1] Pausanias, viii., 48, 4. On several occasions blocks of calcareous stone have been found in Greece, showing very slight traces of workmanship, and bearing in archaic letters the names of gods: Διὸς Κεραυνοῦ, Ἑρμᾶνος, etc. (*Bulletin de Corresp. Hell.*, 1878 p. 515). M. Fr.

As art advanced these pillars received distinguishing attributes, such as a head or arms, and in this way was produced the herm, a sort of square pillar surmounted by one or more heads and placed at the entrance of a street or at a cross road. These herms had a religious character, but the close connection in later times between them and the worship of Hermes arose from an accidental resemblance between the name of the god and the name of these boundaries (ἕρμα). This form of monument was preserved throughout the classical period of art, allowing as it did of great elaboration in the treatment of the head on the top of the herm. In the early centuries of the Christian era it was the practice for ephebi to dedicate to their masters (κοσμηταί) herms surmounted by busts of these persons.

Fig. 2.—Coin of Gordus Julia.

Whatever their shape, whether that of a cone, a column, or a square pillar, these ancient figures long remained the object of the believer's worship. They were surrounded with fillets and anointed with scented oil; sometimes even they were dressed, and covered with long draperies, presented rudely the appearance of the human figure. A coin of Gordus Julia in Lydia (fig. 2) shows one of these idols in the shape of a stele clothed in a woman's garments; the high head-dress, known as

Lenormant (*Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, art. cit.) is inclined to see in them objects of worship, but this view is opposed by M. Foucart, who with more probability explains them as sacred boundary marks.

the *modius*, is worn on the upper part of the figure, as if the column ended in a head. The remote origin of the worship of sacred stones gave it a peculiarly firm hold on the religious feelings of the Greeks. Such ancient idols still had their worshippers in the days of Lucian, and the rhetorician of Samosata scoffs at the blind superstition of those who pray to stones drenched with oil and decked with wreaths.[1]

When art first attempts to reproduce the human figure, the formless images above described begin to be less rude. The first idols which have ceased to be mere fetiches and which begin to show a trace of resemblance to the human figure are the xoana (ξόανα). Usually carved in wood, these rude, coarse figures, for the most part, at first hardly deserve the name of statues; they trace their origin to the pillar, on which an inexperienced hand has tried to indicate the main outlines of the human form.

It is easy to see that the technique of wood-carving has helped in these early attempts. From the first rude shaping of a block of wood, from an idol hewn with the axe out of the thickness of a plank, like the primitive Hera of Samos, the transition is easy to the xoanon; the plank was an easier object for the unskilled workman than marble,[2] and offered the timid artist a less stubborn material for the fashioning of the flattened head, where the closed eyes were represented by mere lines, the arms were closely glued to the body, the feet were hardly separated one from

[1] Lucian, *Pseudom. Ant.*, 30.

[2] According to tradition marble was first carved about the 20th Olympiad (B.C. 700 *circ.*).

the other—such are the characteristic marks, according to ancient writers, of the xoanon. Ancient authorities dwell with great emphasis on the strange appearance of these archaic statues and their absolute lifelessness; they are "handless, footless, eyeless." [1] There are numerous representations of xoana on vases, even on those of the best period; which show that in the fifth century B.C. they were still held in honour. The xoana on vase paintings are, perhaps, embellished and adorned by the fancy of the painter, but we can get a more accurate impression of them from the statue of Artemis, found at Delos, by M. Homolle[2] (fig. 3). The statue is a very ancient copy of a xoanon; the forms are flattened, and the thinness of the body shows that the object copied was a statue carved out of a plank. The arms are like two upright supports, and the head is like

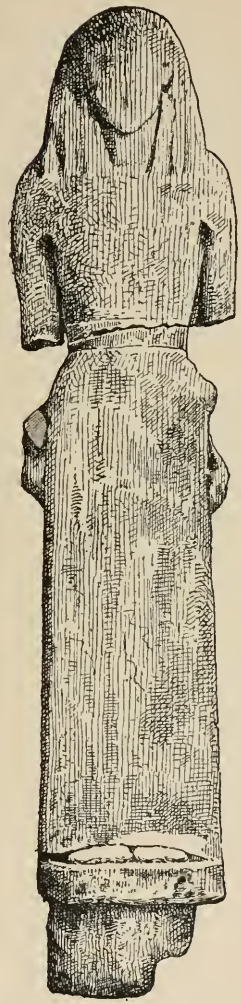

Fig. 3.—Copy of Artemis xoanon (Central Museum, Athens).

[1] Tzetzes, *Chil.*, i., 538: "ἄχειρας, ἄποδας, ἀομμάτους."

[2] *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, t. iii., pl. 1.

a "truncated pyramid with the ridges rubbed off and smoothed away."[1] The character of the deity represented would be undiscoverable but for the inscription engraved on the statue.

It is difficult to determine for how long xoana continued to be made by carvers of wood, but there is no doubt that the Greeks themselves recognised degrees of antiquity in the statues. The most ancient were supposed to be earlier than the fabulous Dædalus, and were to be recognised by their stiffness and rigidity; priestly tradition attributed to them a supernatural origin; they had fallen from heaven, or, like the xoanon of Heracles at Erythræ, had come over the sea and, after strange adventures, landed of their own accord on the shore. It was Dædalus who first invested wooden statues with some appearance of life; after him, they have their eyes open and the arms and legs separated from the body; often their attitude is that of a person walking. This type was long maintained by Greek artists in the representation of the gods. Within historic times, Theodorus and Telecles made a xoanon of Apollo Pythios for the people of Samos; and Diodorus tells us that these Samian artists observed in their art a canon, as the Egyptian statuaries did, and so were able to execute the two halves of the statue separately.[2] It is easy to see that an art bound by such narrow rules, and deeply inspired with reverence for religious tradition, would be slow in working out its freedom. Thus the oldest marble statues, which probably represent gods, such as the probable Apollos of Orchomenus and

[1] Homolle, *loc. cit.* [2] Diodorus Sic., i., 98

the Apollo of Thera, and the quite certain Apollo of Ptoös, still show traces of the awkward stiffness of wooden statues. It was only by the study of nature in the representation of athletes, that art attained the command over material necessary for the embodiment of the manifold types of the gods of Hellas.

The figures created by a more fully developed art, never effaced from the memory of the believer the recollection of the shapeless xoana, and these wooden statues were still, through the whole period of classical antiquity, the images most devoutly reverenced in the temples. Writers and inscriptions alike tell us of the respect that was paid to them;[1] they were gilt, they were painted in bright colours, they were dressed in rich stuffs. The wardrobe of the Hera of Samos, of which the inventory has been preserved in an inscription, contained jewels, fillets, and tunics.[2] The Artemis Brauronia at Athens possessed mantles, tunics of fine stuff from Amorgus, veils of the richest hues,[3]—all offerings of the faithful. Sometimes the offerings consisted of flowers and wreaths which completely hid the statue. The xoanon of Eilithyia was entirely covered with myrtle boughs brought by the women of Athens.

But deep as was the reverence for these ancient statues, there was no feeling to prevent the application to them of the principles demanded by the development of art. The introduction of acrolith statues was the

[1] See J. Martha, *Les Sacerdoces Athéniens*, ch. iv., § 2, "Fonctions Diaconales des Prêtres."

[2] C. Curtius, *Inschriften und Studien zur Geschichte von Samos*, p. 10, No. 6.

[3] *Corp. Inscr. Græc.*, 155; and *Ancient Greek Inscr. in the Brit. Mus.*, i., No. 34.

result of this feeling. The xoanon received the addition of a head, hands, and feet in marble, while the wooden body remained hidden under its garments; in this way the statue presented a more agreeable appearance without losing, in the eyes of the devout, any of its respectable antiquity. The xoana of the Charites in Elis had been renovated by a process of this kind. But occasionally the god opposed such injudicious restoration. Pausanias relates that the priestess of Hilaira and Phœbe at Sparta, having had the head of one of the statues altered, was warned in a dream to leave the other untouched.[1]

Fig. 4.—Terra-cotta idol.

Xoana were the objects of public worship, but private religion also had its idols, numerous specimens of which have been preserved for us in the earliest Greek tombs. The holy images which accompanied the dead man to his grave are little terra-cotta figures of rude workmanship, in which the characteristic features

[1] Pausanias, iii., 16, 1.

of the xoanon are to be seen. The workmanship is coarse; the figure is cut out of a piece of clay, and the arms are represented by pieces added on (figs. 4, 5).[1] The workman has sometimes made no further attempt to represent the face than by pinching the moist clay in his fingers; in other instances the head has been added after the completion of the figure. Rosettes, palm leaves, necklaces, painted by the brush, recall the decorations of the xoanon. Sometimes the figure is seated; occasionally, thanks to a support, it can be made to stand. It is impossible to do more than conjecture who is the god represented, and it seems probable that the person who dedicated the figure in a holy place himself assigned it to some particular god. We may, however, observe that the deity is almost always feminine, and the most common attribute is the *polos* used as a head covering. Primitive idols of this type are found throughout the East; the descent of the types may be traced from

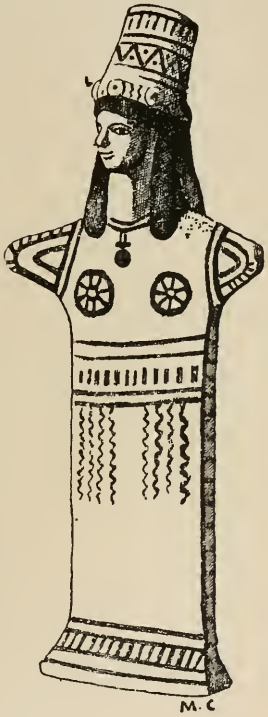

Fig. 5.—Terra-cotta idol.

[1] Gerhard, *Akademische Abhandlungen*, pl. 61, Dædalische Idolen; Heuzey, *Les Figurines Antiques de Terre Cuite du Musée du Louvre*, pl. 17.

Assyria and Phœnicia to Greco-Asiatic countries, such as Cyprus and Rhodes, and finally to Greece herself. The name of Dædal images, which has sometimes been given to them, must not mislead us as to the date of these odd figures, which may have long retained their popularity among some classes of Greek society, supplying, as they did, cheap specimens of religious art. They are interesting to us, as showing the earliest form of the cultus image, to be followed in subsequent times by conceptions more worthy of Greek genius.

CHAPTER II.

DEVELOPMENT OF PLASTIC TYPES.

The means of expression used during the obscure period when art was only beginning are altogether inadequate to embody the many-sided characters of the gods. But they do show the anthropomorphistic tendency which arose the moment that Greek genius recognised its own existence. With the final settlement of the Hellenic race in Hellas begins a period of gradual development, during which Greek art was constantly endeavouring to create its own individual types, to eliminate such elements as were borrowed from foreign worships, or to alter their character by adapting them to its own spirit. This period was of considerable length, for religious art is conservative and shy of innovations; it lives upon tradition, and is satisfied with a small number of types which are repeated in the naivest fashion, till the development of plastic art in other branches brings into prominence the clumsiness and deficiencies of early efforts.

There is another reason for the slowness with which the divine type develops in art. Before the personality of divine beings can be clearly expressed by the sculptor under the limitations imposed by the human figure, a certain process of analysis must have distinguished the moral and physical qualities of each

individual god. This analysis is the work of religious feeling and poetry, and it is the popular imagination and the popular conscience which create the type subsequently embodied by the artist. It was probably towards the end of the twelfth century, when the Greek race had obtained the mastery of the soil, that epic poetry began to arise among the Ionians. From that moment Greek imagination had at its command a means of expression at once subtle and powerful, which enabled it to invest its creations with colour and life. In the Homeric poems the gods begin to have types suggestive of plastic art. Athena, with "fair hair and eyes that flash with awful brightness"; Zeus, "dark-browed, shaking his ambrosial locks"; Aphrodite, "with gleaming white arms, holding up the folds of her dazzling veil";—in these phrases we have touches that call up brilliant pictures. The gods are no longer awful and mysterious forces; still less are they of the nature of primitive fetiches; they are tangible beings, like unto men, sharing men's passions, but stronger and more beautiful.[1] Thus art, if it is to be in sympathy with religion, must needs clothe the gods with the human form in its utmost perfection; and so it is that when the task of epic poetry is over, the art of the sculptor sets itself to embody the glorious conceptions of the poet. The movement in art which began about the seventh century before Christ was full of promise for the future and the study of nature; this study, necessitated by a demand for the statues of athletes, increased the sculptor's store of material, and at the same time made his knowledge more precise.

[1] See J. Girard, *Le Sentiment Religieuse en Grèce, p.* 51, and foll.

The limitations imposed upon his art by forcing him to draw only upon the human figure for his material, was an advantage to him; he found himself obliged to seek for delicate shades of expression, and to develop and train to their utmost his powers of analysis and accuracy. The whole period of what is called archaic art is occupied with conscientious work of this kind, and it is to such work that is due the versatility and fertility of Greek art.

This process of differentiation cannot be traced in all its phases in the works of Greek art. Vase paintings, however, of the fifth century show the first attempts in the direction of the creation of distinct and expressive types. In the vases of Melos the gods are already represented in the form familiar to Greek art, as is shown in the curious painting of Apollo and Artemis on a chariot. Art, though naïve, is original; it no longer owes anything essential to foreign influences, but is entirely Greek. So doubtless were the figures of ivory, gold, and ebony which decorated the chest of Cypselus (Olym. xxx., B.C. 656 *circ.*), and which show a remarkable attempt at symbolism. The engraver who executed these reliefs, known to us only from the description of Pausanias, has tried to represent in visible form such abstract conceptions as Sleep and Death. The former is a white child, the other a black child; both are carried in the arms of Night. Other symbolic figures are Fate (*Κῆρ*), Justice and Injustice, one fair, the other foul. Though the method of expression is far from perfect, the power of analysis displayed is characteristic of the Greek nation.

[1] Conze, *Melische Thongefæsse*, pl. 4.

When once the types of the gods have been determined, an infinite variety is given to them by art. Art, even when it ceases to be religious, does not lose its mythological character. Legend and myth provide a rich store of material for the decoration of vases, jewels, small bronzes, and all the countless objects which serve sacred and secular purpose; coins are frequently engraved with reproductions of images of gods and heroes. Thus there is no lack of matter for a history of Greek mythology as shown in art. The number of sides on which the subject may be studied will be seen if the immense variety of local legends is remembered, and the consequent variation in the attributes and types of the gods. The most accurate method to pursue would be to follow the geographical divisions without losing sight of the chronological sequence, but the size of the present book makes that method impossible.

We may, however, remark that beneath many apparent differences there is a fundamental likeness. The freedom and fertility of the Greek imagination has impressed upon the types of the gods plastic characters of such precision that no very marked divergence is possible among the various local traditions. Every effort of art up to the epoch of its perfect development has been in the direction of creating an ideal type for each god; the Zeus of Pheidias, the Hera of Polycleitus, are not isolated masterpieces: they sum up the work of several generations. In later times, even after the creations of the great masters, although art is not a slave to formularies, and preserves considerable freedom, it yet observes a species of *canon*, which remains unaltered

for each god. Thus it is possible to learn from art the general characteristics of the Greek gods, if we look on the variations introduced by local legends as so many exceptions. This is what we shall endeavour to do in the following chapters, taking in order the chief regions in which the power of the gods was exercised. We shall group together round the gods of the heavens, of the sea, of the earth, and of the underworld, the lesser gods who form, as it were, their court, and belong to different cycles in art.

BOOK I.

THE GODS OF HEAVEN.

CHAPTER I.

ZEUS (JUPITER).

Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, 1871, part i., book i., "Zeus." For the evidence of coins as to the type of Zeus and the subsequent gods see throughout: "Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias," by Imhoof Blumner and P. Gardner, *Journal Hell. Stud.*, vi., p. 50; vii., p. 59; viii. p. 6.

§ 1. Type of Zeus in Art.

The worship of Zeus does not seem to have at first required any statues. High mountain tops were sufficient to evoke the image of the god who sees everything, of "the limitless ether which holds the earth in its moist clasp."[2] We need not here dwell upon the first cultus images, which are mere symbols, such as the stone of Zeus Kappotas, near Gythium, or that of Zeus Sthenios, near Hermione. Sometimes the symbol is a square *stele*, as on the coins of Ceos. When the hand of the workman sets itself first to embody the

[1] See also the chapter on the representation of Zeus in art in *Mythologie de la Grèce Antique*, by M. P. Decharme.

[2] Euripides, Fr.: γῆν πέριξ ἔχονθ' ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις.

conception of a god who permeates everything, whose power is felt in earth, sea, and sky, the simplicity of early art suggests childish ideas, as in the ex-voto of Zeus Triopas, dedicated in the temple of Athena at Argos. This was a xoanon, in human shape, with a third eye wide open in the middle of the forehead. The stiff and awkward attitude of these xoana of Zeus can be realized with the help of the Asiatic coins representing a barbarian god identified with the Hellenic type. A coin of Mylasa undoubtedly reproduces the ancient image of Zeus Labrandeus, worshipped by the Carians, and noted by Strabo.

There are no monuments to enable us to learn how, in the earliest historical times, art set to work to produce the type of Zeus proper to sculpture. The first statue of the god known from ancient texts is that made by the Laconian Dontas, a pupil of the Cretan masters. He executed for the Megarians an ex-voto, which was dedicated at Olympia. Zeus was represented in a group made of cedar wood, inlaid with gold. The metal statues of this period show a great want of technical knowledge. Thus the Zeus Hypatos of Clearchus of Rhegium, set up in a temple at Sparta, was made of plates of brass joined together with nails, and the same process was employed for the colossal figure of the god in beaten gold, dedicated by the Cypselidæ at Olympia about the thirty-third Olympiad (B.C. 644). A youthful type of Zeus comes into existence with Ageladas of Argos, one of whose statues, executed for Ægion, represented Zeus as a child. Possibly the same type appeared in the Zeus Ithomatas, dedicated at Naupactus by the Messenians who had been

driven from Ithome.[1] The statue of Zeus Panhellenios, made by Anaxagoras of Ægina, as well as those by Kalamis, Myron, and Aristonoös of Ægina, are only known to us by description. The names of the sculptors prove at any rate that before the days of Pheidias art had represented Zeus more than once. In the Altis at Olympia were to be seen a large number of statues

Fig. 6.—Zeus seated (vase painting).

of the god, of distinctly archaic character; Pausanias mentions more than forty.

The constant repetition of a limited number of types is characteristic of archaic art, and though the number

[1] It is true that a Messenian coin shows a bearded Zeus standing launching the bolt. But it is not probable that in this we can recognise the Zeus of Ageladas. See Overbeck, *Griech. Kunstmyth.*, i., p. 12.

of archaic monuments preserved is very small, we may infer that the type of Zeus in sculpture so far shows no great variety. Bas-reliefs and vase-paintings of the older style represent him fully draped and seated (fig. 6). On the latest of the metopes of Selinus (fifth century B.C.), the god wears the long himation draped over the lower part of his body; his hair is plaited and curled. Vase-painters give him much the same characteristics and attributes; his hair is carefully combed and floats loose or is gathered into a mass at the nape of his neck; his beard is long, his chiton made of fine stuff, pleated and partly covered by the himation decorated with embroidery, and the sceptre sometimes carries an eagle. It seems probable that the oldest statues of Zeus show reminiscences of the wooden statues, draped in rich garments, which seem to be reproduced by an ex-voto in bronze, found at Olympia.

Fig. 7.—Coin (Zeus Polieus).

Neither bas-reliefs nor vase-paintings, however, show us the type of Zeus as treated by archaic artists. Recourse must be had to the testimony of coins, which is of great value, as it seems probable that coin engravers frequently drew their inspiration from cultus statues. With the help of coins three types of an archaic Zeus can be distinguished. The first is known to us from the coins of Ægion, Messene, and Athens, and is that of the god who wields the thunderbolt. Zeus, naked and bearded, is represented in the attitude of striding; he brandishes the bolt with a threatening gesture. It was possibly in this way that he was portrayed in an archaic statue on the Acropolis of Athens, as Zeus

Polieus, of which Otto Jahn and Overbeck have recognised a reproduction on the early coins of Athens (fig. 7). Another and less common type is preserved in the bronze coins of Athens, which show Zeus with the same characteristics, but at rest and in an attitude of benevolence; it is thus that he is represented on an archaistic bas-relief, which decorates the stand of a candelabra in the Vatican (fig. 8). Lastly, on the early coins of Rhegium and Arcadia, Zeus is seated, leaning on his sceptre, the lower part of his body covered by the himation. This is the rarest type. Faint as are these indications, they lead us to infer that the favourite type of the sculptors of the archaic period was that of Zeus hurling the bolt. Just so archaic art loved to represent Athene Polias, striding forward, and wielding her lance. The god in this warlike type wears an aspect of terror; no drapery covers his muscular form; standing in an attitude of rapid advance, he raises his right arm grasping the bolt. Such, at least, is

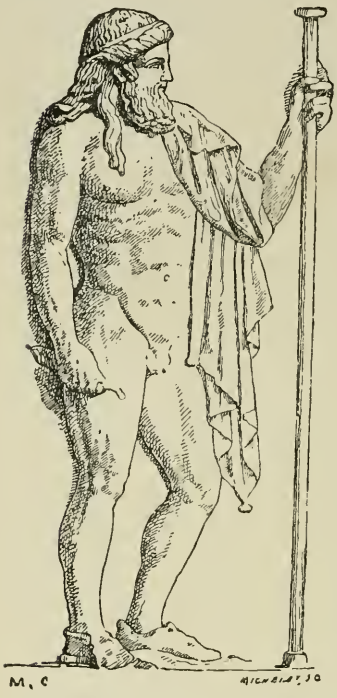

Fig. 8.—Zeus, bas-relief (Vatican).

the type shown in a curious bronze found at Dodona, of affected archaism, bearing traces of a very obvious debt to the primitive types in art.[1]

By the time that Pheidias executed his chryselephantine statue of Zeus for the temple at Olympia, art had already made attempts to embody in various forms the conception of the god who ruled Olympus, and the Athenian sculptor found material ready to his hand. But the ancient world is unanimous in testifying to the fact that he gave to the type of the god its most perfect grandeur and nobility. This is not the place to recapitulate the admiring testimony given by the writers of antiquity. A copy, however poor,[2] of the Zeus of Pheidias is more instructive than all the rhetoric of Dion Chrysostom or the ingenious epigrams of Philip of Thessalonica. Fortunately, the detailed account of Pausanias enables us to recognise on some coins of Elis an unmistakable reproduction on a small scale of the Zeus of Pheidias. "The god," says the traveller, "is seated on a throne of gold and ivory; on his head is a wreath imitating the leaves of the olive. In his right hand he bears a Nike, also made of gold and ivory, holding a fillet and wearing a wreath on her head. In the god's left hand is a sceptre inlaid with all manner of metals, and the bird perched on the top of the sceptre is an eagle."[3] A coin of Elis, struck under Hadrian, now in the collection at Florence

[1] Carapanos, *Dodone et ses Ruines*, pl. xii., No. 4.

[2] A bronze statuette, now in the Museum of Lyons, cannot be regarded as even a remote copy of the Zeus of Olympia. Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der alt. Kunst*, ii., No. 8.

[3] Paus., v., 11, 2-8.

(fig. 9), gives us the general pose of the statue. The attitude was extremely simple, there is nothing strained or theatrical in the broad lines and calm majesty of the pose. The wide folds of the himation, enveloping almost the whole body, serve to bring out with still greater force the impression of undisturbed and supreme power shown by the sculptor in the face of the god. By a clever device of perspective the thighs were slightly sloped forwards, so that the eye saw in their completeness all the lines of the divine form, shown under the folds of the drapery. We can only imagine from the description of Pausanias what must have been the brilliancy and richness of the statue, with its mingled hues of ivory and gold; the himation was embroidered with flowers. In richness of workmanship, the throne was nowise inferior to the statue. It was rich with gold and precious stones, ebony and ivory. The back of it was surmounted by two groups representing the three Horæ and the Charites, standing high above the head of the god; on the two front legs were sphinxes carrying off children, and lower down were Artemis and Apollo slaying the children of Niobe. The supports were adorned with plates decorated with reliefs, representing the ancient conflict of the gods and giants, and the fight of Heracles against the Amazons.

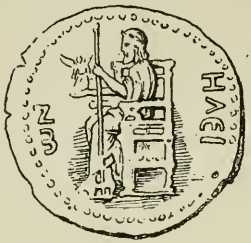

Fig. 9.—Zeus (coin of Elis).

The type of the face is known from another coin of Elis now in the Paris collection (fig. 10), which shows the head of the Zeus of Olympia crowned with

the kotinos or wild olive. The beard and hair are treated simply, but with more freedom than in archaic art; there is none of the straining after effect which became so noticeable later, under the influence of the new schools. The calm and gentle expression is appropriate to the "pacific and benevolent god who watches over united Greece.[1] It is easy to see that the impression produced by the majestic countenance of Zeus must have been most striking, and that, in the words of Lucian, the visitor, on entering the Temple, beheld, not ivory from India and gold from Thrace curiously fashioned, but "Zeus himself, brought down by Pheidias upon the earth."[2]

Fig. 10.—Head of Zeus (coin of Elis).

In creating this ideal type of Zeus, the Athenian master offered a model to artists which must often have been copied. It served as the inspiration of statues for temples, and texts as well as coins prove that copies of the Olympian Zeus were placed in various celebrated shrines. At Daphne, near Antioch, one of the Syrian kings of the Seleucid dynasty, possibly Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, dedicated a Zeus Nikephoros, copied from the Olympian statue. Hadrian placed in the temple which he built at Athens in honour of Zeus Olympios, a chryselephantine statue, which is reproduced on the imperial coinage of Athens. The artist had imitated the work of the sculptor of the fifth century, but with modifications in the direction

[1] Dio Chrys., *Orat.*, 74, p. 412. [2] Luc., *De Sacrif.*, 11.

of increasing the theatrical effect. The nudity of the bust and the violent throwing back of the left arm which holds the sceptre, are concessions to the taste of the time.

But notwithstanding these imitations, the type of Zeus created by Pheidias underwent considera'le modifications in later times. Freedom from formula is a characteristic of Greek art, and the magnificent simplicity of the art of the fifth century B.C. did not satisfy the fourth and third centuries. It was indeed the successors of Pheidias, rather than Pheidias himself, who developed the classical type preserved to us in the monuments in our museums. Agoracritus, the younger Polycleitus, Praxiteles, and Lysippus, not to mention others, made statues, which in all likelihood differed widely from the ideal of Pheidias. The Athenian Leochares returned to the archaic tradition in his statue of Zeus Polieus, dedicated on the Acropolis at Athens, and almost certainly reproduced on an Attic coin (fig. 11). The colossal Zeus executed by Lysippus for the Tarentines, is only known to us from descriptions, and it would be rash to identify his statue with the head of the god which appears on the obverse of the gold and bronze coins of Tarentum. But this powerful head certainly belongs to the classical type familiar to the artists of the later schools, as preserved for us by marbles, coins, and engraved gems.

Fig. 11.—Zeus (coin of Athens).

The characteristic features of the Hellenic Zeus,

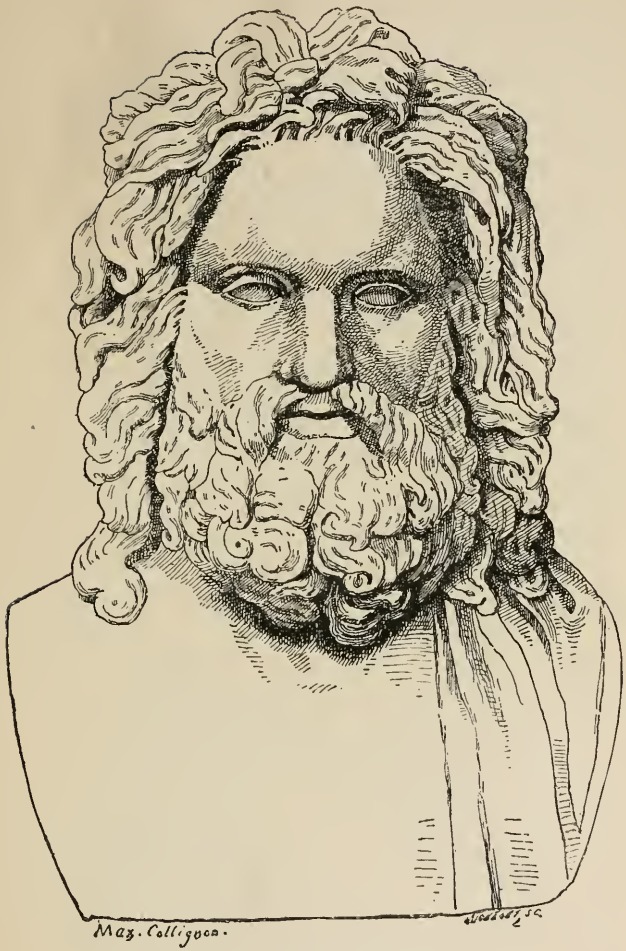

Fig. 12.—Zeus (Otricoli bust).

as consecrated by long tradition, are as follows.[1] The high forehead, divided by a hollow running across it, is framed in by thick masses of hair, often gathered up at the top of the head. In some busts the hair is very much entangled; the artist has endeavoured, by the disorder of the hair, to give a threatening look to the god. The beard, less unkempt than that of Poseidon, less flowing than that of Dionysus, falls in close curls. The eyes, wide open, are shadowed by a prominent arch of the eyebrow; this detail has been absurdly exaggerated by some coin engravers. As to the expression of the face, that varies according to the aspect of the god which the artist wished to represent. Though attempts at classification in matters such as this must always be somewhat artificial, we may divide the busts and heads of Zeus that have been preserved into three kinds. As type of the first class, we may take the Otricoli bust (fig. 12), which was for a long time wrongly looked on as a copy of the Olympian Zeus. This shows us the god as master of the world, king of the gods, calm and powerful, the frequent subject of the sculptor's art. The god hurling the thunderbolt (τερπικέραυνος) has a more awful aspect. The representations of this second class are less common. An example is to be found in a colossal bust found at Pompeii, and now in the museum at Naples, where the expression of triumph is strongly brought out (fig. 13). In a third series of monuments, such as the bust in the Niobid room at Florence and the statue known as the Zeus Verospi in the Vatican,

[1] See the chapter in Overbeck, *op. cit.*, "Das Mittlere Kanonische Zeusideal."

Fig. 13.—Zeus (Naples bust).

we have Zeus under the aspect of the beneficent god, "father of gods and men," as Homer calls him (fig. 14).

It is difficult to analyse all the attitudes in which Zeus is represented by the sculptor without making too minute a classification. Speaking generally, Zeus is either seated with one hand resting on his sceptre, while the other holds the bolt, as in the famous statue of Zeus Verospi in the Vatican; or standing with the sceptre in his hand, as in the statue found at Tyndaris, representing Zeus Ourios, identified by the Romans with their Jupiter Imperator. The details of the costume vary, but there came to be a sort of artistic tradition on this point, the development of which may be traced in vase paintings. Thus, while in vases of the more severe style Zeus appears clad in the chiton and himation, the ceramic artists of a later period, probably following Pheidias, give him only the himation, leaving the upper part of the body bare. This tradition was transferred to sculpture, and statues of Zeus entirely draped are exceptional. On the other hand, there is a long series of statues representing him with the himation draped round his loins and falling to his feet. The torso, partly naked, shows a vigorous muscular development, telling of strength indeed, but untouched by exaggeration; he has the force of the prime of life, as is fitting to the sovereign god. In the Græco-Roman period, under the influence of the Greek artists working for Rome,—Pasiteles, Menelaos, and their disciples,—the square Greek himation is replaced by a round mantle which does not reach the feet. Statues clothed in this way

represent rather the Roman Jupiter than the Greek

Fig. 14.—Seated Zeus (Verospi).

Zeus, and recall statues of emperors adorned by artists with the costume and attitude of Jupiter.

§ 2. Modifications of the Type of Zeus in Local and Foreign Worships.

It has been seen that the commonest attributes of Zeus are the sceptre, the thunderbolt, and the eagle by his side; sometimes the patera is in his hand, to indicate the beneficent nature of Zeus as receiver of offerings. But local worships introduce modifications in the attributes, and those which most distinctly alter the type of the god, or belong to the more important local legends, must be noted.

In certain types of Zeus the modification is such as to make the god almost unrecognisable. On the coins of Iasos in Caria, for instance, Zeus Areios is fully armed like a hoplite. At Olympia he was also worshipped under the name of Areios, and there was in the Heraion an archaic statue of Zeus fully armed. The youthful type of Zeus Hellanios on the coins of Syracuse, and the solar type of Zeus Velchanos (*Τελχανός*) on the coins of Phæstus, can only be explained by traditions peculiar to Sicily and Crete. Again, in other local worships, the type of the face is so completely changed as to make it possible to confuse Zeus with some other god. Thus the Zeus Trophonios, worshipped at Lebadeia, borrowed the features of Asklepios, and, like Asklepios, was in reality a god of the dream oracle of the lower world, not a sky god at all. A fine bust in the Louvre shows him with a long silky beard, and an expression of almost effeminate gentleness. The same type is characteristic of Zeus Philios, the god of oaths and friendship, whose type is preserved on the coins of Pergamos. The statue of Zeus, executed by the

younger Polycleitus, recalled the Greek Dionysus; he held a cup and a thyrsus with an eagle on its top. Sometimes the modifications are confined to a mere change of attributes, to be explained by some peculiarity in the legend or the ritual. The ægis carried by Zeus Aigiochos on the coins of Bactriana, on several bas-reliefs, and on some vase paintings, is an allusion to the poetical story of the childhood of the god and the goat that suckled him (*αἴξ*). The Zeus of Dodona wears a wreath of oak to remind us of the prophetic tree of Dodona; the coins of Epirus, and particularly those struck by Pyrrhus, give us a perfect representation of the Zeus of Dodona, which may be compared with the bust in the Museum at Berlin, and with the magnificent Zulian cameo preserved at Venice. The Zeus Cretagenes, on the coins of Crete, belongs to a local cult. Lastly, on certain coins of Philadelphia, in Lydia, the god is represented seated on a throne on the top of a lofty mountain. The inscription on the coin calls him Zeus Koryphaios; in later times the Romans identified him with their Jupiter Capitolinus.

The extraordinary facility of the Greek genius in multiplying varieties and creating an infinite number of modifications of the same type, made easy the assimilation of certain foreign deities with the Greek gods. In particular, Zeus carried in his train a crowd of barbarian gods, often identified with himself, owing to resemblances more or less superficial. The Carian god worshipped near Mylasa, becomes Zeus Labrandeus, and so strong is the influence of Greek types, that on the coins of Mausolus the god, figured as

Zeus, of all his original attributes has kept only the double axe and the lance. The Egyptian Serapis, who is confused both with Hades and Zeus, is often inscribed as Zeus on coins. But the most curious

Fig. 15.—Zeus-Ammon.

instance of such intermingling of worships and types is furnished by the monuments of the cycle of Ammon. In spite of Greek tradition, it is not at all probable that the worship of Zeus Ammon originated in Egypt. It seems to be proved that it arose in Bœotia, and was

brought to Cyrene by the Gephyrian Ægidæ. Confused with the worship of the Egyptian god Amoun-Ra, owing to a similarity in the names, it returned as a foreign ritual to its native country. The coins of Cyrene and Barca show the gradual alteration of the type. On the coins of the fifth century B.C. the god has all the distinctive features of Zeus, and the ram's horns on his temples constitute the only point of difference between him and the ruler of Olympus. In the fourth century the coin engravers give him features of his own: he has a long nose, and a tufted beard, growing under his chin; indeed, the profile has with some truth been said to resemble that of a ram. The greater number of marble representations of Ammon date from the Hellenistic or Græco-Roman period (fig. 15); that was the time when the worship of Zeus-Ammon spread throughout the ancient world, and was at once the object of adoration to the pious and of amusement to the sceptical. Readers will remember the charming scene in Lucian's "Assembly of the Gods," when Momus complains of the invasion of foreign worships. "And you, Zeus," cries he, "how can you bear the ram's horns that they have put on your forehead?"

§ 3. Representations in Art of Scenes Connected with the Story of Zeus.

Few stories are as rich in incident as the legend of Zeus. The series of adventures which compose the cycle of his life has supplied art with the subjects for many compositions. Only such as are connected with the more important legends, or have been the favourite subjects in art, will be noted here.

The episodes of the myth of the birth of Zeus are well known. Kronos was deceived by a stone wrapped in swaddling clothes which Rhea showed him; the young god entrusted to the nymphs of Dicte, or of Mount Ida in Crete, was suckled by the goat Amalthea, and grew up under the protection of the Curetes, armed warriors who deadened the cries of the baby by clashing their shields. The myth had local variants; thus Pausanius describes bas-reliefs at Tegea and Megalopolis, where the nymphs of Crete are replaced by Arcadian nymphs.[1] But it is the Cretan version of the story which prevails in art. The bas-reliefs of the Ara Capitolina, in the Museum of the Capitol, show a series of scenes from the childhood of Zeus. Praxiteles also drew inspiration from the same subject, and made a statue of Rhea bringing the stone; this work was to be seen at Platæ, near the temple of Hera Teleia. The coins of Crete afford the best means of studying the representation in art of scenes from the childhood of Zeus. They show the young god suckled by the goat, or carried by the nymph Adrasteia; or, again, the Curetes clashing their shields, and dancing the Pyrrhic dance, as on a terra-cotta in the Campana collection.

The story of the Gigantomachia, which in the orthodox legend precedes the accession of Zeus, supplied artists with a subject which lent itself to a grand scheme of composition that taxed all the resources of art. The poetical description of Hesiod[2] laid down, as it were, the outlines of the scene of the

[1] Pausanias, viii., 47, 3, and 31, 4.

[2] Hesiod, *Theogony*, 692 and foll.

stupendous combat waged by the gods in league against the Titans, sons of Gaia, in which the figure of the lord of Olympus appears in the centre of the fray. "Meanwhile the winds raise thick whirls of dust, and carry them, with lightning and thunder, the weapons of mighty Zeus, between the two hosts." In every period of Greek art, the Gigantomachia has furnished the subject for decorative sculpture in buildings of a religious character. Many instances might be mentioned, from the façade of the treasury of the Megarians at Olympia, to the bas-reliefs of the altar of Pergamos, now at Berlin, and the frieze from Aphrodisias in Caria, in the Louvre. Ceramic art also found in the Gigantomachia material for compositions full of life and movement. The series is long, and extends from black figured paintings where Zeus fights on foot, armed with the sword and clad like a hoplite, to the fine amphora in the Louvre, which shows him standing on his chariot in the heat of action. Among the monuments of sculpture, there are few more worthy of attention than the magnificent fragment of the Pergamene frieze (fig. 16), where Zeus, in a moment of vigorous action, is on the point of hurling the bolt at a Titan, who, though defeated, yet threatens.

In the legend of Zeus, the myths connected with his loves occupy a large place. In the Macedonian and Alexandrian periods, art constantly takes its inspiration from a source so full as is this of graceful and voluptuous suggestions. The myths of Leda, Europa, and Antiopa supply subjects for compositions in harmony with the taste for what is far-fetched and dainty, so universal in the time of the successors of Alexander.

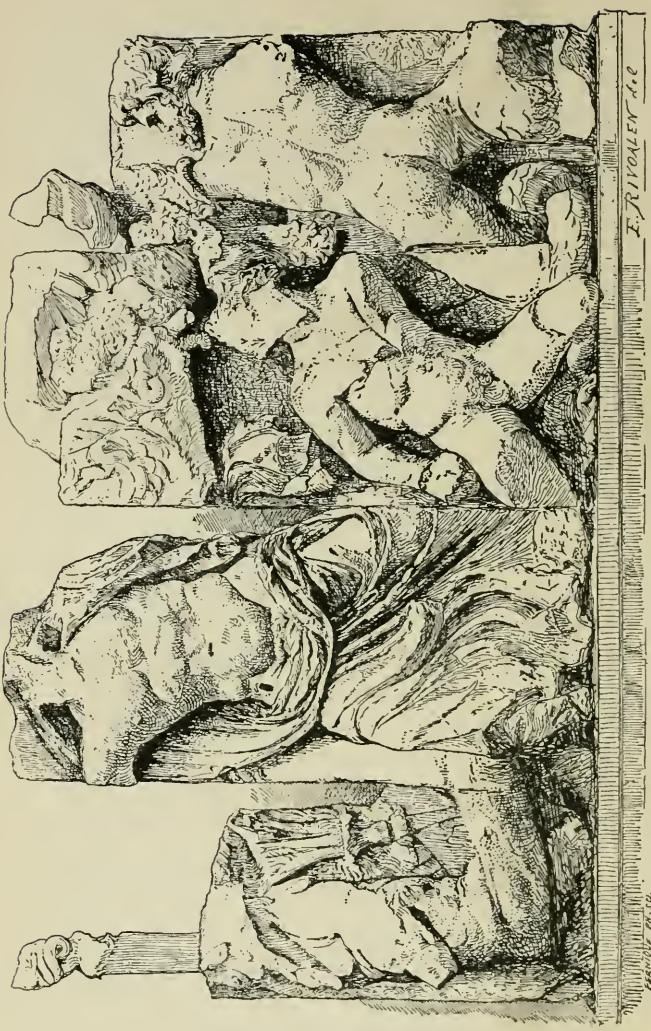

Fig. 16.—Zeus in the Gigantomachia, from altar at Pergamos (Berlin).

The statue of Leda, in the Museum at Florence, shows that the sculptor liked to seek his subject in legends of this kind, but the richest field is supplied by engraved gems, cameos, and Pompeian wall paintings, where the chief aim of the artist was to treat love scenes in the most refined style. The same may be said of the myth of Ganymede. A bronze group by an Athenian artist, Leochares, is known at least from description; the small marble group in the Candelabra Gallery in the Vatican is, perhaps, a free copy of it. The rape of Ganymede is also one of the favourite subjects of the Alexandrian school; the painters usually introduce into the scene the regular accompaniment of Cupids, as in the painting of the Casa di Ganimede at Pompeii, where the young Phrygian shepherd is represented asleep, clad in a purple chlamys and wearing a blue cap, while a Cupid in the guise of a hunter slumbers near him on a rock.[1]

Seriousness is not the prevailing characteristic of such scenes as these; the Greek habit of mind, in a period of scepticism, easily turns them to a parody. A representation of Ganymede weeping, as the eagle bears him away, is downright farce, and recalls the famous caricature by Rembrandt in the Museum at Dresden. Again, comedy takes hold of subjects borrowed from the loves of Zeus, and then vase painters reproduce the scenes of comedy. Thus, a well-known vase painting portrays an episode in the loves of Zeus and Alcmena, as represented on the comic stage. Zeus, with an absurd countenance, disguised as Amphitryon, approaches a window where Alcmena appears; he

[1] Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, 155.

passes his head through the rungs of the ladder he is carrying, while Hermes offers a cup to the young wife. The licence of the comic stage authorised such parodies as this at a time when scepticism had made astonishing progress. But representations of this class are exceptions in the list of artistic representations of the legend of Zeus.

CHAPTER II.

HERA (*JUNO*).

Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, part ii., book ii., "Hera" (1873).

Οὔπω Σμιλικὸν ἔργον ἐΰξοον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τεθμῷ
δηναιῷ γλυφάνων ἄξοος ἧσθα σάνις.

"Not yet the fair wrought work of Smilis wert thou, Hera,
But, on an antique base untouched by the chisel, a plank."

These two lines of Callimachus[1] sum up the whole history of the type in art of Hera, as far as regards the early period. The goddess, like Zeus, the child of Kronos, and sharing with him the sovereignty of Olympus, was worshipped in Greece in the very earliest times. But her images, even though touched by the hand of man, long remained mere shapeless idols. At Thespiæ, Hera was represented by a tree trunk, roughly squared; at Argos by a pillar; at Samos by a plank coarsely cut. These rude images need not detain us; but they enable us to understand the origin of the wooden statues (*xoana*) of the goddess, among which the most highly reverenced were those of Tiryns, attributed to the legendary artist Peirasos of Argos, a statue which was the work of Dædalus, and the Hera of Samos, executed by the Æginetan Smilis. The terra-cottas found in the oldest Greek

[1] Quoted by Eusebius, *Præpar. Evang.*, iii., 8.

tombs give us an accurate impression of these Dædal images of Hera. Readers are doubtless acquainted with the little figures cut out of rectangular pieces, and ending in a head wearing the polos, or calathos.[1] But the coins of Samos enable us to realize with more certainty the appearance of the xoanon of Smilis. Dedicated, as it probably was, at the time that Rhœcus was building the Heraion of Samos, between the twentieth and the thirtieth Olympiad (B.C. 696 to B.C. 656), this xoanon long remained the most important cultus image, and coins of Samos struck under the Emperors show the same type as is shown on the autonomous coinage. The head of the statue wears the polos, and the hands, resting on supports, each hold a phiale. The costume, a very complicated one, consists of the long tunic (πάτος), the distinctive garment of Hera; over it is a diploidion falling to the knees, and an ornament made of two bands crossed on the breast. The bust is wrapped in a piece of stuff which passes three times round it (fig. 17). We know from inscriptions that the Hera of Samos possessed a rich wardrobe. An inscription of the year 346 B.C., which gives the list, mentions tunics of different colours, mantles of fine stuff, headdresses of various shapes, mitres, veils, hair-nets,[2] etc.

Fig. 17.—Hera (coin of Samos).

[1] See Introduction, fig. 5.

[2] Carl Curtius, *Inschriften und Studien zur Gesch. von Samos*, 1877, p. 10.

The Hera of Samos was, no doubt, worshipped as goddess of marriage, in commemoration of the local legend which made Samos the place where Zeus married the goddess. The character of divine matronhood is marked in all the archaic representations of Hera. Almost invariably her attributes are the cylindrical headdress called the polos, or the *stephanos*, a sort of lower crown, of the same height all round, encircling the whole head with a coronet; the face is framed by the folds of the veil, which reminds the spectator of the regular bride's headdress. This detail of the headgear is very distinctly visible in a terra-cotta from Argos, of archaic style; the goddess is seated, and draws the folds of her veil across her breast. Whether seated on a throne or standing, Hera is, in early art, always fully draped. It is so that she is represented in a statue found at Samos, now in the Louvre, which is of great interest to the student of the art-type of Hera.[1] The sculptor, an artist probably of the end of the sixth century, or the early years of the fifth, has represented her standing clad in a long tunic of fine striped stuff; a sort of shawl is crossed over her breast. A veil, which must have covered the back of the head, now unfortunately lost, is fastened to the belt, and clings to the body without a single fold. If the statue from Samos is compared with a stone head found at Olympia, an accurate idea may be formed of the archaic type of Hera. At the beginning of the

[1] Described by M. P. Girard, *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.*, 1880, pls. xiii. and xiv. The inscription cut out on the himation makes the statue speak: Χηραμύης μ'ἀνέθ(η)κ(ε)ν τῆρηι ἄγαλμα ("Cheramyes dedicated me to Hera, a votive offering").

fifth century, the goddess was still represented with the severe features, the abundant mass of flowing locks, which mark the head from Olympia.

But external details, such as the costume or the attributes, cannot determine a type in plastic art, and in the best period, art endeavoured to express in a more worthy manner the moral aspect of the goddess who held the highest rank in the Greek Olympus. Masters of the best period, such as Pheidias, Alcamenes, and Kolotes, invested the type of Hera with a singular nobility, if we may judge from a bas-relief of the school of Pheidias. The reader is no doubt familiar with the fine fragment of the Parthenon frieze, representing a group of gods, where Hera wears the Dorian chiton, which leaves her neck and arms bare. The dignity and severe grace of the attitude show that even at that time art had conceived an ideal type of great beauty. But it was the Argive Polycleitus who first embodied this ideal in a masterpiece of sculpture—the chryselephantine statue made for the Heraion at Argos. According to the description of

Fig. 18.—Hera (vase-painting).

Pausanias,[1] the goddess, like the Zeus of Olympia, was seated on a throne. "On her head she wears a stephanos, decorated with figures of the Horai and the Charites; in one hand she holds a pomegranate, in the other a sceptre. . . . The cuckoo on the sceptre is accounted for by the story that when Zeus loved the maiden Hera he took the form of a cuckoo." What were the features with which Polycleitus represented the goddess? The connection which some archæologists have sought to establish between the work of the Argive master and certain celebrated busts, such as those in the Museum at Naples and at the Villa Ludovisi, rests on no proof. All that can be said is that the influence of the type created by Polycleitus can be traced in the coins of Argos, where the head of the goddess wearing the stephanos is characterised rather by severity and grandeur than beauty.[2] As to further details of expression we must accept uncertainty. But the general attitude of the statue, at any rate, is known to us from the imperial coins of Argos. One of these, in the Imhoof Blumer collection, shows Hera seated, holding the sceptre and pomegranate, in an attitude well suited to a colossal statue; near it is seen the statue of Hebe, which was placed in the same sanctuary, and the peacock of gold and precious stones dedicated by Hadrian in the Heraion. These existing coins throw light on the descriptions in ancient texts. The attitude of the Hera of Polycleitus is undoubtedly that of the sovereign queen of Olympus; she is "the

[1] Pausanias, ii., 17, 4.

[2] It should be noticed that a similar type is to be seen on the coins of Knossos and Himera. See Overbeck, *loc. cit.*, "Münztafel," ii., 22.

goddess with arms white as ivory, with glorious gaze, and splendid raiment; the royal goddess seated on a golden throne."[1] The very attributes embody the mythological characteristics of Hera; the sceptre is the sign of her sovereignty; the pomegranate, a symbol of marriage; the Horai and Charites, alluding to the ripeness of fruits, remind us of the blessed fruitfulness which the "holy marriage" of Zeus and Hera maintains on the earth. At their espousal, "straightway the earth brought forth in plenty a new growth. The lotus wet with dew, the saffron, the soft and yielding hyacinth, formed for the pair a thick couch, where they lay wrapped in a marvellous golden cloud, from which fell glittering drops of dew."[2] Probably Polycleitus, like Pheidias, drew much of his inspiration from the Homeric poems.

After Polycleitus, the new Athenian school did not introduce modifications of any importance into the type of Hera. Possibly in his statue of Hera Teleia at Platææ, Praxiteles gave a more gracious and less stern expression to the goddess. The head which appears on the coins of Platææ shows a softer style. Such differences of expression may be realized if we compare two of the most remarkable of the busts of Hera, belonging to different periods. One is the Farnese bust, now in the Museum of Naples. Though there is difficulty in recognising it as a copy of the type created by Polycleitus,[3] it is at least a fine example

[1] Max. Tyr., *Diss.*, 14, 6.

[2] *Iliad*, xiv., 152 and foll.

[3] See the comments of M. A. Conze, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Griech. Plastik*, pp. 2 and 6.

of an echo of fifth century style; it may be a copy in marble of a bronze original, executed before the eighty-second Olympiad (B.C. 448). The expression of the goddess is serious, the mouth is stern; round the eyes are markings which recall the technique of bronze work.

Fig. 19.—Hera (Ludovisi).

The hair, held by the ampyx, is simply treated, and forms a massive framework to the narrow brow. In the magnificent colossal bust of the Villa Ludovisi, on the other hand, the influence of the new Athenian school is plainly to be traced (fig. 19). Some archæologists assign this bust to the fourth century, and it is

certainly not later than the third. It is not easy to find a more perfect example of the classic type of the Hera of Greek tradition. The hair waves and curls under the rich stephanos which crowns the face, a pure oval. The eyes are wide open;[1] the lines of the mouth and chin are very firm but without a touch of hardness, for the outlines are more rounded than in the Naples bust. Something of severe graciousness softens the expression of queenly dignity which fills the face.

The statues of Hera, executed under the influence of the schools of the fourth century, represent her with full and rounded outlines; the goddess is in the very bloom of her beauty. She usually wears the sleeveless chiton, which falls to her feet, and leaves the neck and upper part of the shoulders bare. A large himation surrounds the middle of the figure, and covers with its folds the lower part of the tunic. The marbles that have come down to us represent her standing, leaning on her sceptre, with a patera in her hand. She may be Hera Teleia, goddess of marriage, as shown in the Barberini statue of the Vatican (fig. 20), the statue of the Braccio-Nuovo, found at Ostia, and that in the Salone of the Capitoline Museum. The head of this last statue is a portrait, and is known variously as Crispina or Lucilla. The majority of statues in the Greek style show Hera standing, and with no veil; in the best period of art, the veil has ceased to be invariably the distinctive characteristic of Hera. On

[1] The reader is familiar with the epithet βοῶπις applied to Hera in the Homeric poems. It has given rise to long discussions, which are summed up by Overbeck, *loc. cit.*, p. 86 and foll.

Fig. 20.—Hera Barberini (Vatican).

the other hand, it reappears in the Græco-Roman

period. A statue in the Vatican (in the Casino of Pius IX.), a bronze in the Cabinet des Antiques at Vienna, represent the goddess wearing the stephanos, with the folds of the veil round her head. It is easy to recognise the Juno Regina of Roman coins, and of the bas-reliefs of the Imperial epoch; there Juno figures as one of the sacred Trinity worshipped on the Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.

Whereas local worships introduced considerable variations in the type of Zeus, the Greek Hera preserves almost invariably the same characteristics. The names of Hoplosmia and Eileithyia, given to her in some rituals, bring with them no great modifications in her type in art. We must go to Italy to recognise in the very peculiar attributes of the Roman Juno a reminiscence of old local religions. Thus, Juno Lucina, the patron of birth, bears the torch; on the coins of the younger Faustina she carries children in her arms. At Lanuvium, Juno Sospita has no connection whatever with the Greek Hera. She is a warrior goddess, and her attributes are the spear, the shield, and the goat-skin. The darting snake at her feet reminds us of the legend related by Propertius;[1] the reader will remember the charming lines where the poet tells how the maidens of Lanuvium came in fear and trembling to offer food to the sacred snake. The popularity of the worship of Juno in Italy protected local beliefs against the influence of Greek mythology. To the Italian peoples, Juno was the feminine goddess *par excellence;* we may remind the reader that in

[1] Propertius, iv., 8, l. 3 and foll.

Roman inscriptions the word *Juno* is used to designate the tutelary spirit of a woman ; and when a Greek city wishes to do honour to an empress, it bestows on her the title of "The new Roman Hera."[1]

[1] *Voyage Arch.*, by Le Bas, No. 1700.

CHAPTER III.

ATHENA (MINERVA).

Gerhard, "Ueber die Minervenidole Athens," in the *Gesammelte Akad. Abhandlungen*, i., viii.; Otto Jahn, *De Antiquissimis Minervæ Simulacris Atticis*, 1886; A. Conze, *Die Athenas-statue des Pheidias im Parthenon*, 1865; Bernoulli, *Ueber die Minerven Statuen*, 1867; Fr. Lenormant, "La Minerve du Parthenon," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1860; Th. Schreiber, *Die Athena Parthenos des Pheidias*, Leipzig, 1883; *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, chapters on Parthenon and Erechtheion; M. Collignon, *Pheidias*, c. ii.

§ 1. Type of Athena in Art.

A legendary origin is attributed to all the oldest statues of the goddess; tradition said that they had fallen from heaven, and they were known by the name of *Palladion*. The tale of the Trojan War shows us what importance a city attached to the possession of an image of this kind. It was looked on as a guarantee of safety. Its great age and unknown origin conferred upon it the prestige of mystery. A large number of towns claimed the ownership of the famous Trojan Palladion, which was stolen by Ulysses and Diomede; and the inhabitants of Troy itself showed an old wooden statue of Athena, which they represented to be the ancient image taken in early times from their ancestors.[1] From certain passages in the *Iliad*, it may be inferred that the Palladion of Troy was

[1] *Strabo*, xiii., p. 601.

seated. But attic vase paintings representing the theft of the statue all show the goddess standing. The sacred figure armed with the ægis and wielding the lance, is in the attitude of advancing. It is thus represented on a beautiful painted cup signed by Hieron (fig. 2),

Fig. 21.—Palladion, vase-painting by Hieron (St. Petersburg).

which gives the scene of the theft.[1] The cup is now in the Hermitage Museum at St. Petersburg. Sometimes the lower part of the body is closely swathed, as in a bas-relief in the Louvre. If we may accept the testimony of the imperial coins of Lacedæmon

[1] See Otto Jahn, "Il ratto del Palladio," *Annali dell' Inst.*, 1858.

(fig. 22), the Athena Chalkeoikos executed for the Spartans by Gitiadas, in the sixth century, is descended from this type. On these coins the goddess is represented like an old idol, with the body swathed in a sort of sheath made of concentric circles.

Athens, which worshipped Athena Polias as the special guardian of the city, naturally also had a Palladion. The Palladion was worshipped in the south-east part of Athens, outside the Acropolis. Several antique bronzes of early workmanship seem to be reproductions of it; in particular a bronze in the Cabinet des Medailles, found among the foundations of the Parthenon, and a statuette, very roughly cut with the chisel, also found at Athens.[1]

Fig. 22.—Athena (Spartan coin).

But the Palladion is not to be confused with the xoanon of Athena Polias, which was preserved in the Erechtheion, and played an important part in the most sacred ceremonies of the Athenian religion. It was Athena Polias who originally wore the peplos embroidered by the Athenian maidens, and carried in the Panathenaic procession; it was Athena Polias who was escorted by the Praxiergides to the harbour of Phalerum, to be bathed at the festival of Plynteria. No image was held in greater veneration at Athens. It was venerated in the Acropolis, even down to the days of Pausanias, when the Parthenos image had supplanted it as the main object of worship. Gerhard

[1] Fr. Lenormant, *Arch. Zeitung*, 1867, pl. 228, 1-2.

thinks that the image of Athena Polias was seated and wore the polos, and believes that a copy of it is to be found in the statue signed by Endoios. But Otto Jahn holds, with greater probability, that the xoanon in the Erechtheion reproduced the old type of Athena armed, and in a warlike attitude, as she is shown on Panathenaic amphoras.[1] A curious statue, now at Dresden, may give us some idea of what this clothed xoanon was like. Without going so far as to see in it, as Otto Jahn does, a copy of the Athena Polias, we may grant that the marble statue is a late reminiscence of a very archaic original. The folds of the peplos are stiff and carefully arranged. The embroidery which runs down the front represents scenes from the Gigantomachia, which we know was the subject worked by the needle of the Errephoroi on the peplos of the goddess. Moreover, the constrained attitude shows that the original was of wood. Thus the general appearance of the celebrated Athenian statue may be inferred from the Dresden Athene (fig. 23). The head, wearing the helmet, probably resembled the head shown on Attic coins; from them we can easily picture the hard and angular features of the Athena Polias.[2] Within historic times early artists endeavoured to express the twofold character of the goddess, regarded as the

[1] Cf. Aristophanes, *Birds*, 286. Θεός, γονὴ γεγονυία, πανοπλίας ἔστηκ' ἔχουσα.

[2] The question of the exact type of the Palladion and the earliest image of Athene at Athens is a very obscure one. Thus much seems clear, that at Athens from very early times there was a seated and a standing type. This last ultimately prevailed. It is most probable that the Athenians attributed to the Trojan Palladion the most popular type of their own goddess.—J. E. H.

patroness of peace and the maiden warrior. Endoios drew inspiration from the first of these characters, when he represented the goddess seated, wearing the polos, and holding a distaff. This statue was at Erythræ, and the Athena, also by Endoios, dedicated by Kallias on the Acropolis, belonged to the same type. But the severity of early art seems to have delighted chiefly in representing the warrior goddess of the Homeric poems, Athena clad in glorious armour, carrying the "ægis, the terrible weapon, able to stand against even Zeus himself." This is the type drawn by Andokides on a vase-painting (fig. 24). Among all the statues of archaic art there is none which more forcibly embodies the warrior aspect than the figure of the western pediment of the temple of Ægina. The goddess stands in the midst of Trojans and Greeks, disputing for the body of Achilles; she wears the crested helmet, and carries her shield and heavy spear. In addition to the long chiton of fine stuff, she also wears the Dorian peplos, folded double over the breast and fastened to the right shoulder, from which point

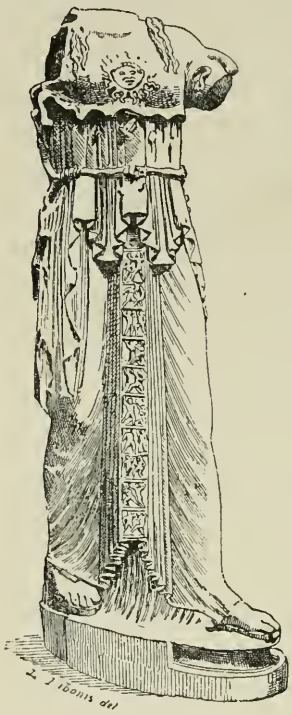

Fig. 23.—Athena (Dresden).

Fig. 24.—Athena, from vase by Andokides (Berlin).

the folds fall with severe regularity the whole length of the figure. The ægis is fixed upon the breast, and extends behind as far as to a point below the knees. The contour of the face is full, and the expression almost manly; the general impression is one of vigour and power.

The Attic school of the fifth century first introduced a softer element into the severe type of the goddess; the rigidity of outline was modified, and the faculty of expressing finer shades of difference was attained. From this time on the various aspects of the goddess corresponding to her several names were embodied; sometimes she is the Promachos, then the Parthenos, and again Athena Ergane, the patroness of the arts of peace. A differentiation of type of this kind can be seen in the works of Pheidias, if we may judge by the descriptions that have come down to us. The colossal Athena of the Acropolis, represented as Promachos, and in later days called by that name, recalled in her pose the warrior goddess, who, according to the story, fought against the Persians at the head of the Greek army. The Lemnian Athena, dedicated by the people of Lemnos, was unarmed, and her distinguishing characteristics were gentleness and maidenly modesty.[1] But the ideal of nobility and chastity was reached by the master in the statue of Athena Parthenos.

The masterpiece of Pheidias was much too popular not to be constantly reproduced. There were actual copies of it in some of the Greek cities, as, for instance, in Antioch. It furnished artists with a model for more

[1] Himerius, *Orat.*, 21, 4. M. Hübner would see a copy of this in a head now at Madrid (*Nuove Memorie dell' Inst.*, pl. 3, p. 34).

or less close imitation, and was a never-failing source of inspiration to the art of the handicraftsman in coins and bas-reliefs. But monuments, which exhibit a good deal of variation in detail, are only illustrative within certain limits, and we shall here only mention such of them as furnish the most positive clues for a reconstruction of the statue.[1] Besides the so-called Lenormant statuette, now in the Central Museum at Athens, the most important of them for the reconstruction of the whole is the statue found in 1881 at Athens, near the Varvakeion,[2] and now in the Central Museum (fig. 25). This statuette presents a close analogy to the description of Pausanias. But though a replica like this, executed as late as the second century after Christ, gives us the general outline, we must look elsewhere for many of the details. "In the middle of the helmet," says Pausanias, "is the figure of the sphinx, and on each side are wrought gryphons."[3] In restoring the figure, it seems probable that we must reject the accessories sometimes found in the representations in art on the helmet of Athena; such, for instance, as the eight galloping horses shown on the gem of Aspasios. For details of the head and hair, a gold medallion in the Hermitage Museum at St. Petersburg is the best guide.[4] The breast of the

[1] We cannot give the history of these reconstructions. See the article by M. Fr. Lenormant, *La Minerve du Parthenon*. See also Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*; and Waldstein, *Art of Pheidias*.

[2] See *Bull. de Corresp. Hell.*, 1881, p. 54, art. by M. Hauvette-Besnault; and *Mitth. des Deutsch. Arch. Inst.*, 1881, p. 57, art. by Lange.

[3] Pausanias, i., 34, 5-7.

[4] *Mitt. de Inst.*, 1883, pl. xv.

Fig. 25.—Athena, Varvakeion statuette (Central Museum, Athens).

figure was covered with an ægis ornamented with scales and edged with snakes; in front was a Gorgoneion, which probably was nearer the type of the

Fig. 26.—Strangford shield (British Museum).

Gorgon in archaic art than the beautiful head of a dying woman which represented Medusa in later times. The dress of the goddess consisted of a simple tunic; it was the old Greek chiton open at the side, the

upper part of which makes, as it were, a second shorter tunic; the garment is held at the waist by a belt, and the folds are massed together on the right side. For the shield and its ornamental reliefs, and the carved basis, the leading points are furnished by the Lenormant statuette, and the rest may be supplied by the help of the marble fragment of a shield formerly in the Strangford collection (fig. 26). The subject represented is clearly the battle of the Greeks and Amazons, which, according to Pliny, adorned the convex side of the shield of Athena.[1] The position of the spear is shown by coins; it was held in the left hand, which rested on the shield; and at the goddess's feet on the same side was the snake, which was supposed to symbolize Erichthonios. With regard to the position of the Victory held in Athena's right hand, the testimony of the remains that have come down to us is not uniform; on bas-reliefs and coins the Victory is turned sometimes outwards, sometimes towards the goddess. But the recently discovered statuette, compared with certain Athenian bronze coins, justifies us in believing that the Victory stood obliquely, turning towards the goddess, and seen almost in profile by the spectator. As to the pillar supporting the right hand, it is difficult to believe that it existed in the original, although it appears on a bas-relief over a decree granting a proxeny.[2] It is hardly likely that Pheidias would have given this unsightly adjunct to his statue, and it is probable that it was added in some restoration subsequent to the fifth century. The evidence of

[1] Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi., 5.

[2] Schœne, *Gr. Relief* pl. xii., No. 62.

coins on this point is evenly balanced. The support sometimes appears, sometimes is absent.

Pheidias brought the type of Athena to its highest perfection. But it should be noted that after all the Parthenos is but a peaceful modification of the old warlike type. The goddess stands erect; but she has laid aside her shield, and her spear stands idle. Pheidias was too fine an artist to break wholly with the tradition of the past. Later artists copied the Parthenos, though not very closely. Some points, however, could not be absent in a representation of a goddess personifying for the Greeks the ultimate expression of the warlike courage which guarantees peace and the intellectual activity which makes peace fruitful. The best antique busts—as, for instance, the Minerva of the helmet with the rams' heads—give her clear-cut, severe features, and a thoughtful expression; the hair, divided into two parts and slightly waving, frames in a wonderfully serene brow; the mouth is stern, the head somewhat bent. The attitude and dress partake to a certain extent of the two types which prevail in the statues of the goddess. Clad in the himation which envelops with its folds the lower limbs and half conceals the ægis, she is the Parthenos of Pheidias. The *Minerve au Collier* in the Louvre is one of many statues in which may be recognised a far-off copy of the work of the Athenian master.[1] The colossal statue of the Velletri Pallas and the Farnese Athena (fig. 27) are descended from the same type, though with modifications. Another series of statues,

[1] The list of replicas in given by Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 279. See also a new list given by Lange, *Art. cit.*, p. 59 (from α to ξ).

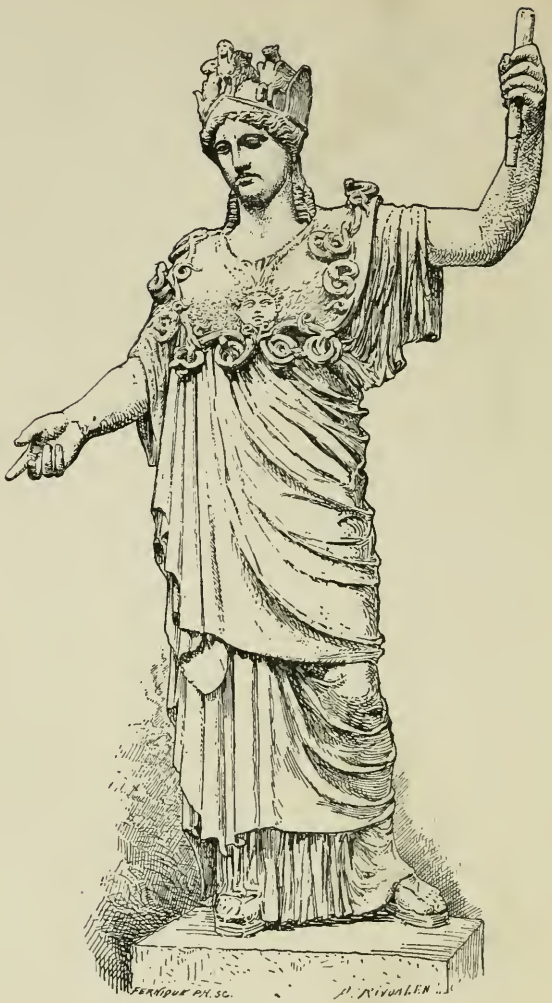

Fig. 27.—Athena, Farnese (Naples).

on the other hand, bear the impress of the warrior

statue in the warlike pose. The goddess no longer

Fig. 28.—Athena (statue from Herculaneum).

wears the himation, but only the chiton ; she advances

rapidly with her spear uplifted, as in a statue from Herculaneum, of archaistic workmanship (fig. 28).

§ 2. Representation in Art of Scenes from the Myth of Athena.

A complete list of the scenes in which Athena has a place cannot be given in this book, and only such will be noted as are intimately connected with the myth of the goddess.

If the testimony of vase paintings may be trusted, one of the favourite subjects of ancient art was the birth of Athena, springing fully armed from the head of Zeus, "her life as the lightning was flashed from the light of her father's head."[1] Different moments in the story have been represented by vase painters.[2] On vases of the old style, the scene is set forth with much *naïveté;* Zeus in the pains of childbirth is helped by the two Eleithyias, in the presence of the assembled gods. Another moment chosen is that of the appearance of Athena from out of the god's head, in the guise of a tiny figure fully armed (fig. 29); this is the embodiment of the lines of the Homeric hymn: "But she sprang of a sudden from out the immortal head, shaking her pointed lance; huge Olympus was shaken to its base under the weight of the grey-eyed goddess, and all around the earth groaned terribly." The third scene shows Athena born and standing before the assembled gods, thus enabling the

[1] Decharme, *Mythol. de la Grèce Antique*, p. 73.

[2] See Benndorf, "La Nascità di Minerva," *Annali*, 1865; G. Kaibel, "Minerva Nascens," *Annali*, 1875.

artist to omit certain details incongruous with a more fully developed art.

The contest of Athena and Poseidon for Attica was a national legend to the Athenians, and is occasionally represented in art, once on a vase, and more often on coins and engraved gems. It was the subject of the

Fig. 29.—Birth of Athena (vase painting)

western pediment of the Parthenon. Among all that has been preserved there is nothing more akin to the work of Pheidias than a fine vase adorned with reliefs found at Kertsch.[1] Athena, clad in a green chiton, brandishes

[1] De Witte, *Monuments Grecs*, published by the Association des Études Grecques, 1875.

her spear; Poseidon holds the bridle of the young horse he has just created; and in the branches of the olive tree is Nike, constantly associated with Athena, and sometimes confused with her.

The chief attributes of the goddess have their legends, and these in their turn have their cycles of representation in art. Thus the Gorgoneion on the ægis[1] is a fact, a trophy of the victory won by Athena over Medusa, the spoils or *exuviæ* of the monster, according to the Attic story. The Argive version says that it was given her by Perseus, whose stroke she guided. The snake encircling the shield is the emblem of Erichthonios, born of earth, adopted by Athena, and by her brought up to immortality. In the scenes representing this story the care of Athena for the new-born babe invests her with a character almost maternal, and this is shown even in archaic art. A terra-cotta plaque, belonging to the first half of the fifth century, represents the goddess receiving the child from Gaia, the upper part of whom only appears; the same subject is treated in a statue in the Museum of Berlin, where Athena carries Erichthonios in her ægis, and looks at him with the greatest affection; and also in full detail on a beautiful cylix in the same museum.

It is impossible here to enumerate all the myths in which the goddess is concerned; they are too many. Warrior as she is, she helps Herakles in his labours, as on the metopes of Olympia, and takes an active part in the fight of the gods against the giants. As the personification of Invention, the mother of Art, she devises the

[1] For the "ægis of Athena," see A. S. Murray, *Classical Review*, June 1889, p. 283.

flute, which subsequently she discards; Marsyas then takes it up, and this scene was the subject of a group by Myron, reproduced on an Athenian coin and bas-relief. The type of the goddess undergoes modifications in accordance with the character assigned to her by various legends. She is often associated with Victory, and was honoured under the name of Athena Nike in the temple of the Wingless Victory at Athens. In this aspect she is sometimes winged, as may be seen on coins.[1] As goddess of healing, she is Athena Hygieia. The reader will recall the story which tells how she related in a dream to Pericles the way to cure a workman who had fallen from the scaffolding while at work on the Propylæa. In consequence of this cure a statue on the Acropolis was dedicated by Pericles to Athena Hygieia,[2] the basis of which, with its inscription, is still to be seen in the Acropolis, close to one of the columns of the east porch of the Propylæa. But such varieties in the type as this, due to the subtlety of the Greek mind, do not alter the fundamental characteristics of the goddess. In the monuments belonging to the pure times of Greek art, Athena is always a maiden with regular and delicate features and a thoughtful expression; she is the perfect ideal embodiment of the highest qualities of Athenian genius.

[1] Imhoof Blumer, "Die Flügelgestalten der Athena und Nike auf Münzen," *Numismat. Zeitschrift*, 1871.

[2] Inscription on the base of a statue, signed Pyrrhus, C. I. A., No. 335. See *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, Division D., Sect. 2.

CHAPTER IV.

APOLLO.

A. Feuerbach, *Der Vaticanische Apollo*, 1885; Stephani, *Apollon Bœdromios*, 1860; Wieseler, *Der Apollon Stroganoff*, 1861; see also the article by M. de Ronchaud, "Apollon," in the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, by Daremberg and Saglio. For the most ancient representations of Apollo see the article by Vischer in the *Nuove Memorie dell' Instituto di Corr. Archeologica*, 1865, p. 399. For the question of the Stroganoff bronze and the ægis: Kieseritzky, *Arch. Lat.*, 1883, p. 29, and, controverting his view, Gercke, *Jahrbuch*, ii., p. 260.

§ 1. Type of Apollo in Art

The myth of Apollo furnished for the imagination of the Greek an endless store of interesting legends of the most varied description. No attempt will be made in the present work to give a detailed list of all the characteristics assigned to the god, and represented in the different epithets added to his name. It is enough to remember that he is primarily the sun-god, god of light and radiance (Phœbus), the divine archer, whose power is to be dreaded, but whose beneficence can avert the evils that threaten mortal men (Alexikakos). Again he is the divine healer, who is invoked by men as a god of helping (Epikourios). He is the god of harmony, the leader of the choir of the Muses, the inspiration of poets, able to give to men the gift of prophecy. Hardly has he been born beneath

the palm-tree of Delos which sheltered his mother Latona, than he cries out, "Give me a sweet sounding lyre and a curved bow, and my oracle shall make known unto men the true wishes of Zeus."[1] He is also the god of the shepherd (Nomios), and the protector of seamen (Delphinios).

These manifold aspects of the god can only be expressed by art after it has attained considerable development, and the earliest representations of Apollo show the naïve simplicity characteristic of all primitive art. Apollo Agyieus, as tutelary deity and protector of the ways, is represented at first by a plain, conical pillar. One of his oldest images, that of Amyclæ, represented him in the form of a column to which were attached feet, a head wearing a helmet, and hands holding the bow and the spear. At Sparta there was a most extraordinary figure of the god, with four arms and four ears; it is possibly this statue which has been reproduced on a bas-relief at Sparta, no longer in existence, but described by Ross. "The upper right arm holds a piece of drapery on the shoulder, and the lower an olive branch against which rests a snake; the upper left arm holds a bow, and the left a flat scallop shell."[2]

The first attempt to replace these shapeless images by works showing a distinct endeavour to find a plastic type, was in the Dorian countries, where Apollo was worshipped as the national god. About the fiftieth Olympiad (576 B.C.), Dipoenus and Scyllis made for Sicyon a statue of Apollo, which was one among

[1] *Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo*, v., 131.

[2] See Le Bas Foucart, *Insc. du Peloponnèse*, No. 180.

several other gods, in a scene probably representing the contest with Herakles for the Delphian tripod, and the subsequent reconciliation. There seems to be no doubt of the influence of these two Cretan artists on the development of the type of Apollo, and some of the oldest marble statues of the god can be, with some measure of probability, connected with their school. These marble statues form a fairly long series, and show the successive stages passed through by archaic art in the first half of the sixth century. The earliest statues of Apollo are those of Thera and Orchomenus, in the Museum of Athens, and those of Actium, now in the Louvre. The Apollo of Orchomenus, in the Central Museum at Athens (fig. 30), may be taken as a type. It recalls the description by Diodorus of the

Fig. 30.—Apollo of Orchomenos (Central Museum, Athens).

wooden statue of the Pythian Apollo, made in the eighth century for the Samians by Theodorus and Telecles; the hands hang down on each side of the body, and the attitude is that of walking; the straightness and sharpness of the ridges reminds the spectator of the technique of wood carving. Such was the type which prevailed about the sixth century B.C. About that date disciples of the Cretan masters wandering all over Greece brought this primitive type to perfection; and in spite of the stiffness of the style the Apollo of Tenea in the Glyptothek at Munich shows the progress made by the middle of the sixth century. The type of the figures of Orchomenus and Tenea is quite as appropriate to the earliest statues of athletes as to Apollo, and hence some doubt has been thrown on the name by which they are known.[1] But the fact that similar figures have been found at Delos and Ptoos, and that the Actium statues come from a sanctuary of Apollo, as well as the evidence derived from a Pompeian painting representing a precisely similar figure behind an altar, and therefore obviously a cultus statue, make it nearly certain that the greater number of these marble figures are representations of Apollo. Apollo, then, as conceived by the early Dorian artists, has the robust development of an athlete, and wears his hair long, and carefully dressed after the ancient Greek fashion. He is so described in the Homeric hymn: "The god was like unto a man full of sap and vigour in all the

[1] M. Milchhœffer (*Arch. Zeitung*, 1881, p. 54), sees in the Apollo of Tenea a grave-monument, but this opinion was promulgated before the discovery of the Ptoos Apollos.

brilliancy of young manhood; and over his broad shoulders streamed his loosèd locks."[1]

Archaic art faithfully observes the tradition of the earliest schools. Thus the statue of Apollo, made for the temple of Delos by two pupils of the Cretan artists, Tektaios and Angelion, and represented on a bronze Athenian coin, was in all respects similar to the type just described; in one hand the god held a bow, in the other the group of the three Charites.[2] But the most important monument of early art is the statue made by Kanachos, and dedicated in the temple of Didymæ, near Miletus, towards the end of the sixth century B.C.; at the Persian invasion it was carried off to Ecbatana, and only restored to the Milesians in the time of Seleucus Nicator. Several Milesian coins show the statue as described by Pliny, holding the bow, and carrying a fawn on the palm of the outstretched right hand. Besides these, there are statuettes which are evidently antique reproductions of the Apollo of Didymæ, —such, for instance, as the Payne-Knight bronze in London, and the Piombino bronze in the Louvre, which gives better means of judging the work of the Sicyonian artist than does any other. The god, as represented in the Louvre bronze (fig. 31), is naked; the muscular development is entirely visible, and seems to have been copied from a living model. The hair, short and curled in front, is gathered at the back into a thick mass held

[1] *Hymn to the Pythian Apollo*, v. 271.

[2] This, no doubt, is the statue which Pausanias saw still *in situ*. in an inventory of the temple, dating about 180 B.C., mention is made of gold crowns offered to the statue. Homolle, "Comptes des Hièropes du Temple d'Apollon Dèlien," *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, 1882.

together by a band; the eyes were of silver or set with precious stones. In these copies of the Apollo of Kanachos there is no trace of any desire to give the god an ideal cast of countenance; the face, like all the statues of Apollo of the same period, has the fixed smile peculiar to archaic art. As regards expression, there is no distinction between the bronze head of Apollo found at Herculaneum and the heads of the warriors on the pediments of Ægina. Apollo in early art is to be recognised by his attitude, his attributes, and his general physical development. On these grounds the name of Apollo has been given, probably correctly, to a series of small votive bronzes now in different museums.[1] One, for instance, in the Museum at Berlin bears the inscription: "Deinagoras dedicated me to Apollo the Far-darter."

Fig. 31.—Bronze Apollo (Louvre).

There is no doubt that the artists immediately preceding Pheidias introduced considerable variation into

[1] See J. de Witte, *Rev. Arch.*, 1873, p. 149 and foll.

the type of Apollo. The Apollo Alexikakos of Kalamis, and the statues made by Myron for Ephesus and Agrigentum, are known only from description; but the statue by Pythagoras of Rhegium, which represented the god casting his arrows at the Pythian snake, is possibly reproduced on the coins of Croton. A subject such as this would require a freedom and ease of treatment very far removed from the rigidity of archaic art.

It is about this period that the type of Apollo clad in the chiton or chlamys begins to appear in early art. On the bas-reliefs of Thasos now in the Louvre, dating from the beginning of the fifth century B.C., Apollo wears the long tunic and the epomis, or mantle fastened on the shoulders. He appears completely draped in the long chiton on some ex-votos dedicated by the victors in the Pythian games, which, though later than the period now dealt with, yet bear traces of imitation of an archaic style. Elsewhere, in scenes where the warrior aspect of the god is predominant, the artist clothes him in a piece of fine stuff with very narrow pleats, the ends of which are rounded off fan-wise, while the whole thing is worn like a scarf. Such is the costume of Apollo on some bas-reliefs of archaistic style representing the dispute for the tripod at Delphi, and also on vase paintings of the more severe style, when Apollo is engaged in conflict.

Very little is known as to the modifications in the type of Apollo introduced by the school of Pheidias. Ancient texts give no hint as to the method in which the Athenian master conceived his Apollo Parnopios, dedicated near the Parthenon, in memory of a plague of

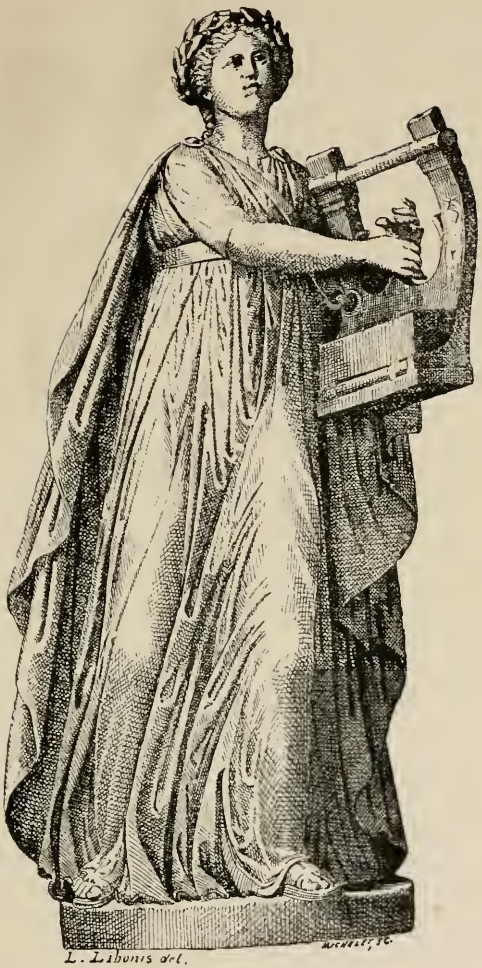

Fig. 32.—Apollo Musagetes (Vatican).

locusts which had wasted Attica. It is for the most part

with the rise of the new Attic school of the fourth century, and in the work of Scopas and Praxiteles, that new conceptions come into existence, and give the type of the god its most complete development. The Apollo Sminthios of Scopas is known only from the coinage of Alexandria in the Troad; but of the Parian sculptor's Apollo Citharœdus a clearer idea may be formed. This statue, originally executed for the people of Rhamnus, and subsequently taken to Rome, was dedicated by Augustus on the Palatine after the battle of Actium. The evidence of coins struck during the Empire shows that a reproduction of this statue exists in the Apollo Musagetes of the Vatican (fig. 32). The Parian sculptor seems to have restored the old type of the Citharœdus, while giving his Apollo an inspired air and a pose full of movement. The long Pythian garment worn by the god floats round him, he advances at a rapid stride; he is the god of musical contests. But while the statue of Scopas comes back, as regards the attributes of the god, to more venerable Greek tradition, the Apollo Sauroktonos of Praxiteles shows the god in a new aspect. The work of the Athenian artist may be restored with the help of three copies that still exist: the bronze of the Villa Albani, and the two marbles of the Louvre and the Vatican (fig. 33), are probably faithful copies.[1] Here, the god is represented as a young man, almost a boy, with soft and delicate outlines; a mischievous smile is on his face, he is on the point of aiming a missile at a lizard climbing up the trunk of a tree against which he is

[1] See M. Rayet's account in *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, part 2 "Apollon Sauroctone."

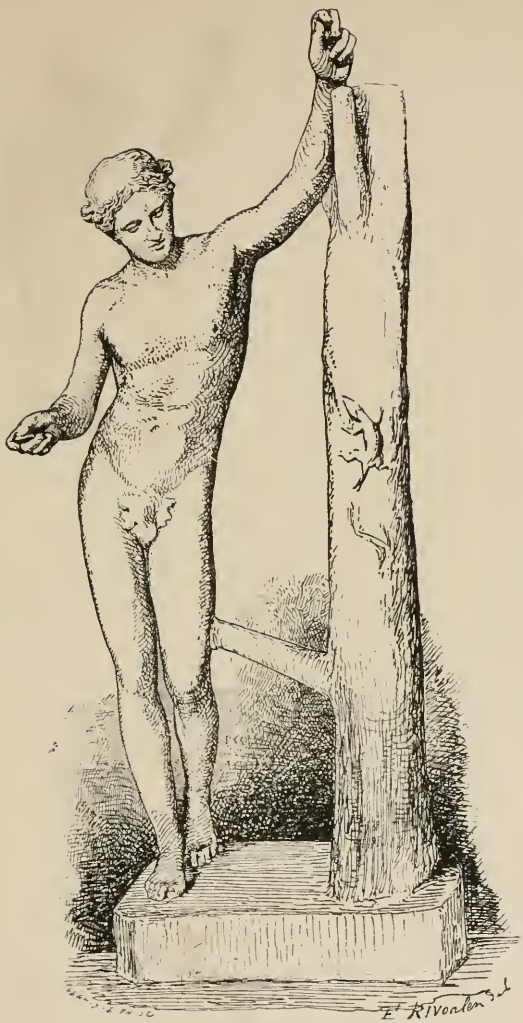

Fig. 33.—Apollo Sauroktonos (Vatican).

leaning. This conception, alluding to some foreign

myth, or to a Sicilian legend, is unexampled in the cycle of representations of Apollo; but there is no doubt that it was Praxiteles who helped to make popular in the type of Apollo the characteristics of youth and grace which appear in several statues of a later period.

It would take too long to give a complete list of the artists subsequent to Scopas and Praxiteles who have represented Apollo. All that need be said is, that in the fourth century all the characteristic features of Apollo are determined, and art has nothing further to create. The various aspects of the god are sufficiently differentiated by the art of the sculptor for the classification of the types under several heads, and within these classifications may be grouped the numerous statues in the Museums of the present day.

Apollo, victorious, exulting in the full pride of success, is represented in a statue which, following the verdict of Winckelmann, was long regarded as the masterpiece of classical art, the Belvidere Apollo of the Vatican. A modern sculptor has restored the right hand as though it held a bow, and the figure has usually been regarded as an Apollo armed with the bow, and fighting against the Python of Tityos. But that view has been disputed. Bronzes are in existence which seem to be replicas of the same figure, and in them the god holds in his right hand an object which is like the skin of some animal; of this type are the Apollo of the Stroganoff collection, and the bronze of the Pulzky collection. From these considerations, then, it seems possible, though not probable, that the Apollo Belvidere carried in his right hand the ægis

with the head of Medusa. Some authorities go beyond this, and believe that the original statue, of which the Vatican marble is only a copy, was executed in memory of the siege of Delphi by the Gauls, when the god himself appeared in the midst of the combat, and put his assailants to flight. In this case the original must be assigned to a date later than the year 279 B.C. Without deciding this question, it may safely be stated that this much-admired statue is only a Roman copy of an original, executed certainly after the time of Lysippus 330 B.C. *circ.* Whether the figure represents an Apollo Kallinikos victorious against the Python, or an Apollo Boedromios defending his temple against the Gauls, the Vatican statue furnishes a striking instance of the god in his warrior aspect. The figure of Apollo is tall and slim; a light chlamys floats on the left shoulder. The face, framed by the thick curling hair gathered up above the brow, has the classical features always attributed to the god in art from the days of the new Attic school onward. It is this habit of keeping the same cast of features which enables the student to trace the connection between the Vatican marble and several monuments belonging to the Hellenistic period, such, for instance, as the head of Apollo, formerly belonging to the Pourtalès collection, and now in the British Museum.

The statues of Apollo at rest form a second series. In this class the characteristic features of the god are the graceful and unstudied pose, a less muscular frame, and a marked expression of calm and gentleness. As type of this series may be taken the Apollino at Florence, which seems to be a copy of a work of the

fourth century. Here the god is represented leaning against the trunk of a tree, his right arm raised over his head in a careless attitude; this right hand held the bow, or so at least is Apollo at rest figured on an Athenian coin. To this class must be added the Lycean Apollo, as it is called, of the Louvre, which recalls Lucian's account of the statue set up in the Lyceum at Athens; the attitude, with the arm above the head, was supposed to show that the god was resting after his conflicts and his toils.[1]

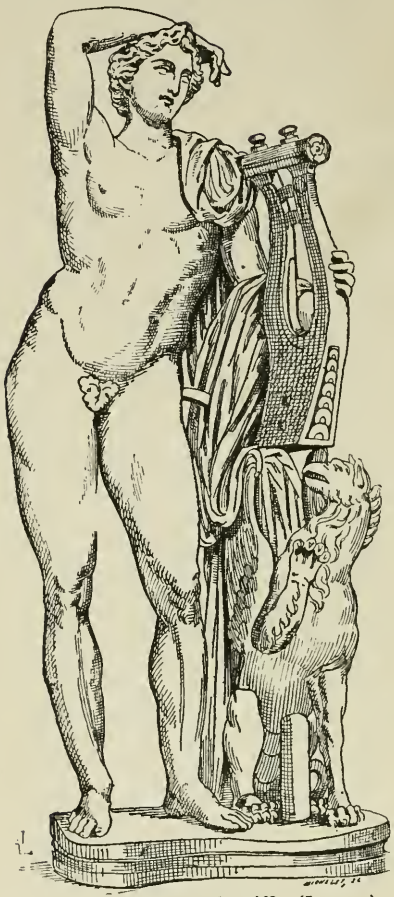

Fig. 34.—Apollo with griffin (Louvre).

The Apollo with the Gryphon, now in the Capitol, marks the transition to the type of the Apollo Citharœdus, of which there is a good example in the British Museum.

[1] Lucian, *Anacharsis*, p. 551, ed. Didot.

Here (fig. 34) he is at rest, but has taken his lyre, and seems to be preparing to lead the choir of the Muses. As god of music he appears as Scopas has represented him (see fig. 32), wearing the long ample robe, or again undraped, as in the Apollo with the swan of the Capitol. He is the god of sweet strains and musical contests, "first and last sung by the sweet-voiced bard to the accompaniment of the sounding lyre."[1]

A considerable number of instances show the god with some appropriate attribute, such as the patera, in his hand. It is probable that one of the statues in the temple of Delphi represented him thus. Pausanias mentions two statues, one representing Apollo Moiragetes, the other of gold, which he does not describe; but he mentions that it was kept in the innermost part of the temple, whither few people penetrated. It is possible, though not certain, that both Apollos appear on the coinage, and that, as the Moiragetes would probably bear a lyre, the gold Apollo may be the patera-carrying type.

§ 2. Myths of Apollo in Art.

The mythological episodes in which Apollo appears are very numerous; but only those can here be referred to which are most closely connected with his main legend, and have been favourite subjects of art. The reader is doubtless familiar with the tale of how, after his birth beneath the palm-tree of Delos, Apollo leapt into the midst of the gods of Olympus, and then went

[1] *Homeric Hymn*, xx.

his way towards the vale of Crissa; how he slew with his arrows the serpent Python, the guardian of the ancient oracle of Pytho, and established his own worship at Delphi, his prophetic seat. The whole legend has often inspired the Greek artist, and both incidents of the story have been depicted.[1] Many monuments, statues, medals, and vase paintings represent the first scene: Latona, carrying in her arms her two children, Apollo and Artemis, flies in terror before the monster as he issues forth from out the Delphian cave. At Delphi itself, on the spot where sacred and poetic tradition placed the scene, there was a bronze group representing it.[2] The second half of the story is the death of the Python beneath the arrows of the youthful god. Pythagoras of Rhegium, as has been said, treated this subject, and it was also represented on one of the reliefs on the columns of the temple of Apollonis at Cyzicus, built by Attalus II.

The trials undergone by Apollo after the slaying of the Python, his flight to Tempe, his purification, his servitude under Admetus, hold a more important place in his sacred tradition than in the cycle of his representations in art. The same may be said of his yearly voyage in the northern districts, which belongs to the Delphian story. At the beginning of the winter, Apollo leaves Delphi for the far distant country of the Hyperboreans, where is always light and never any winter cold; this is the Apodemia or departure of the God. In the spring, he comes back to his holy places, and that is the Epidemia, or returning. Late

[1] See Schreiber, *Apollon Pythoktonos* (Leipzig: 1879).

[2] *Athenæus*, xv., 701.

vase paintings show him riding on a swan, or on a gryphon, a fabulous creature, the guardian of the treasures hidden in the north.

But though scenes of this kind are of frequent occurrence in ceramic art, the contest for the Delphian tripod is the one of the incidents in the story of Apollo most commonly chosen for representation in the art of sculptor and painter.[1] The origin of this famous contest was as follows: Herakles, smitten with disease sent upon him by the gods after the murder of Iphitos, came to consult the oracle of Delphi; as the Pythian priestess refused to answer him, he stole the sacred tripod, and refused to give it up to Apollo, until the two combatants were separated by the interposition of Zeus. This scene has always been a favourite subject for the Greek artist. Before the eightieth Olympiad (456 B.C.) some archaic artists had represented it in a votive group set up at Delphi by the Phœnicians. The same subject is represented in a somewhat long series of bas-reliefs, such as the base of a tripod now at Dresden, and a bronze relief found at Dodona (fig. 35). The archaistic or hieratic character of these reliefs, which consciously reproduce a sort of sacred type, shows that they are votive or religious in character; thus the sculptured basis of Dresden may have been the shaft of a votive tripod, dedicated by a victor in the torch race (*ἀγὼν λαμπαδοῦχος*).

In his aspect of the terrible god armed with the bow and arrows, Apollo is represented in a large number of compositions, such as the struggle with the Aloidæ, the

[1] See Panofka, *Annali*, ii., p. 205; Wieseler, *Ueber den Delphischen Dreifuss;* Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, ii., p. 298.

slaying of the children of Niobe, and so on. As god of music, and associated with the Muses or the Nymphs,

Fig. 35.—Apollo, Herakles, and the Tripod (Bronze relief found at Dodona).

he also plays a part in scenes too numerous to be mentioned here. But his musical contest with the

Silen Marsyas, who had challenged comparison between his flute and the divine lyre, must not be overlooked. The punishment inflicted on the defeated Satyr, who was flayed alive under the eyes of Apollo, has been a frequent subject of artistic representation. A statue in the Museum of Florence, doubtless the copy of a celebrated original, shows Marsyas fastened to the trunk of a pine tree, his body stretched out, his arms kept in place by bonds.[1] The legend represents the superiority assigned in the Delphic contests to the Dorian music, of which the lyre is the representative instrument. The victory in the Pythian games won by the Argive flute-player, Saccadas, reconciled Apollo to the flute, but as god of music he always remained the god of the "golden lyre, giving forth dulcet sounds beneath his bow."[2]

[1] See on the representations of Marsyas, Michælis, *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1858, p. 317.

[2] *Homeric Hymn*, v., 185.

CHAPTER V.

ARTEMIS (DIANA).

Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmæler der Alten Kunst*, 2nd edition, vol. ii., p. 211 and following; Brunn, *Kunstmythologie.*

§ 1. Type in Art of Artemis.

In the *Odyssey* the Homeric poet draws in bold outline a picture of the noble figure of the goddess who is Apollo's sister: "As when Artemis, proud of her arrows, walks over the mountains, either upon the long ridge of Taygetus or on Erymanthus, and delights in following the wild boar or the swift stag; around her play the Nymphs, daughters of Zeus the ægis-bearer, who dwell in the meads, and Latona rejoices at heart."[1] Her aspect of huntress is the dominant characteristic of the Greek Artemis. A Dorian divinity, like Apollo, Artemis is the austere maiden, whose power is sometimes deadly, but whose higher energies are often directed towards the pleasures of the chase. The lunar crescent, which is sometimes her attribute, suggests one of her mythological aspects. Although Selene, the moon goddess, early appears as a deity distinct from Artemis, yet the sister of Apollo is, in some of her aspects, a personification of the moon.

The seriousness which prevails throughout the ritual of Artemis invests the moral aspect of the goddess with

[1] *Odyssey*, vi., 102.

a noble dignity. Through all the changes in the type of Artemis in art, the conception of her virginity is strongly marked. Recent discoveries make it possible to trace the development of her art-type from its origin to the fifth century; the statues found during M. Homolle's excavations at Delos form a complete chronological series.[1] Mention has already been made of the curious marble reproduction of a xoanon of Artemis, which is the oldest of the Delos statues.[2] Artemis is represented in a very primitive fashion; her arms are close to her sides, the hair is spread over the shoulders and divided into four wisps, and the figure is tightly draped. The inscription on the statue is necessary to show that this formless image is that of "the goddess who smites from afar, and loves to let fly her arrows."

Five other Delos statues belong to a more highly developed stage of art, and reproduce a type already partly known by means of some marbles found near the Acropolis at Athens, and coming from a sanctuary of Artemis. All these statues embody the same conception: "Straight, motionless, closely draped in a garment whose regular folds fall in symmetrical parallel lines, they are full of the majesty, the charm, and at the same time the want of technical knowledge to be found in early art."[3] The attitude and costume of Artemis chosen by the older masters may be deduced from this

[1] See Th. Homolle, *Les Fouilles de Délos*, in the *Monuments Grecs* published by the Association pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques, 1878. Cf. *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, 1879, p. 99, and pls. i., ii., iii., 1880, p. 29.

[2] See Introduction, p. 7, fig. 3.

[3] Homolle, *Les Fouilles de Délos*, p. 60.

series of archaic statues. The goddess stands as in the statue made by Dontas and Dorykleidas for the Heraion at Argos.[1] The straightness of the body and the nearness to one another of the legs give an appearance of rigidity to the figure. In the left hand the goddess holds a fold of her dress, which clings closely to the right side, showing the form beneath. The costume consists of a long tunic with wide sleeves, made of fine pleated stuff. Over this is thrown a himation, fastened on the right shoulder and passing under the left arm; the upper part is folded back over and over several times, and crosses the breast slantwise as a baldrick would do. The hair spreads over the shoulders in a huge mass, and two waving locks fall upon the chest.

These details constantly repeated are characteristic of the type of Artemis in the archaic period, and are accentuated in statues of a later date, which are no more than copies of works of older style. The statue in the Museum of Naples (fig. 36) found at Pompeii, has recently been shown[2] to be a fairly accurate copy of an archaic cultus statue of Artemis Laphria by Menarchinos and Soïdas, artists of the early half of the fifth century B.C. The treatment of the hair and the costume are fundamentally like that in the Delos marbles; but the mantle is adorned with a rich border, and the goddess wears a belt, by which she has carried her quiver. Moreover, the goddess is represented advancing rapidly, and no doubt carried in her left hand

[1] Pausanias, v., 17, 1.

[2] *Mitt. d. k. Arch. Inst.*, Roman section, vol. iii., 4, p. 277, *Die Archaische Artemis Statuette aus Pompeii*, Studniczka.

Fig. 36.—Artemis Laphria (Naples).

the bow, which never appears in the earlier statues.

It seems likely that these primitive types of Artemis were adhered to in statues meant for cultus images. It was common to preserve in temples the reminiscences of the old idols so dear to the populace. Thus on a coin of Augustus struck in Sicily there appears an Artemis clad in the long chiton and wearing the modius; in this M. Charles Lenormant recognises the reproduction of the statue dedicated in the Artemision at Ortygia, near Syracuse.

Fig. 37.—Artemis, Brauronia (?), Athens (vase fragment).

Another and an humbler monument may be added to the list of those which echo the types of cultus statues—the fragment of a votive vase (fig. 37) found quite recently on the Acropolis. The inside of the cylix—for to a cylix the fragments belong—is adorned with a figure of Artemis in relief, a design of delicate and austere beauty. The goddess wears her quiver on her left shoulder. She carries her bow in her left hand; a flower is held delicately in her right. She is closely draped in a long double chiton. It is very remarkable that the hands, arms, face, and feet are white, the rest of the design has been gilt; this in itself suggests that the vase painting is a copy of some chryselephantine statue.

The flower also is a point to be noted, as it suggests a cultus statue. In the fifth century B.C. the flower was not the characteristic attribute of Artemis; it rests, no doubt, on some ancient half-obsolete tradition. It is probably no chance invention of the vase painter; he might give a flower into the hand of any chance mortal maiden, but Artemis was already attribute-laden, so that he could not without traditional support add to her burden. Pausanias (Book i., 23, 7) says that the image in the precinct of Artemis Brauronia in the Acropolis at Athens was by Praxiteles. Praxiteles the elder worked with Kalamis, and we may very well have here a votive copy of his image.[1]

As in the case of Apollo, so with Artemis, the new Attic school of the fourth century modified the ancient type by introducing more elegance and delicacy. Scopas Praxiteles and Timotheos softened the severe character of the older representations of the goddess. It is not certain that the coinage of Anticyra reproduces the statue executed for that city by Praxiteles or some artist of his school;[2] but it is at least clear that the figure engraved on the coins of Anticyra bears traces throughout of the type created by the new school. In the art of the fourth and all succeeding centuries Artemis is the lithe huntress in short tunic, armed with the bow, and wearing the hair gathered up on the top of her head in a knot. The features closely resemble those of Apollo, though they are more delicate, and the outline is rounder. It seems as if the artist

[1] Robert, C., *Archäologische Märchen*, "Artemis Brauronia."

[2] Michælis, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1876, p. 168.

had delighted in representing the ideal type of Apollo in feminine guise.

Of the extant monuments which belong to this class one of the most famous is the statue in the Louvre, known as the Diana of Versailles;[1] not that it dates from the best period,—for there is no doubt that it belongs to the early years of the imperial epoch,—but that it (fig. 38) reproduces a well-known and popular aspect of the goddess, that of Artemis as huntress. The goddess, starting in a rapid run and accompanied by a deer running beside her, is in the act of drawing an arrow from her quiver; the left hand, which has been restored on the head of the doe, must have held the bow.[2] Instead of the long robe of archaic art, she wears the short Dorian chiton, folded back into a diploidion, and caught up on the shoulder. The himation rolled closely round the waist passes across the right shoulder, and so forms at once a scarf and a sash. The feet are protected by sandals. Great though the change is, a moment's careful comparison shows beyond a doubt that the type of the Artemis of the Louvre is essentially the same as that of the Artemis of Pompeii. The peculiar forward gesture rests on this ancient archaic tradition. The original of the Artemis

[1] The statue is known to have been brought to France from Rome under Francis I. It was restored by Barth. Prieur, placed by Louis XIV. at Versailles, and brought back to the Louvre in the sixth year of the Republic.

[2] The Kerynean doe was what the restorer thought of, but it seems clear that this idea was incorrect. (See Welcker, *Akad. Kunstmuseum zu Bonn*, p. 57.) The Diana of Versailles has also been connected with the Belvidere Apollo; but there is no foundation in fact for this theory.

Fig 38.—Artemis of Versailles (Louvre).

of Pompeii, if we may trust coins, plucked with her right hand an arrow from her quiver. The motive of Artemis as huntress is one of the commonest in classical art; she is represented in different attitudes with characteristic attributes. Sometimes, as in a small bronze from Herculaneum, she is letting an arrow fly; she wears the Cretan hunting shoe, laced over the foot, with the top turned back and left loose, and across her chiton slantwise she wears a fawn-skin.[1] Sometimes, again, she is at rest, reposing after the labours of the chase; thus she is represented in a charming Greek terra-cotta in the Sabouroff collection.[2] The goddess, leaning on a tree, looks idly at her dog, who caresses her as he stretches out his nose to attract her notice. Elsewhere, again, she is finishing her preparations for hunting and fastening her chlamys, which falls across the hound. This type is preserved in the fine Gabii statue, now in the Louvre. Gradually such representations of Artemis tended to become mere genre hunting pictures.

Fig. 39.—Artemis Soteira (coin of Syracuse).

But though the arrows of Artemis sometimes threaten mortals, and may smite women with sudden death, she is also worshipped as a beneficent deity. Artemis Soteira, or the Saviour, has as attribute the closed quiver, and occasionally the lyre also; both these objects are represented on a coin of Syracuse (fig. 39), where the head of Artemis appears and the letters *ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ*. Under this name she is associated with Apollo in his aspect of the peaceful god, the dispenser

[1] See the description by Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis*.

[2] Kékulé, *Griech. Thonfiguren aus Tanagra*, pl. 17.

of harmony. In statuary this conception is represented by the gesture of the goddess, who closes her quiver and wears the long robe instead of the huntress's dress. Two statues in the Vatican and at Dresden respectively, belonging to this class, are specially remarkable for the gentle expression of the young goddess.

Allusion has already been made to the pliability of

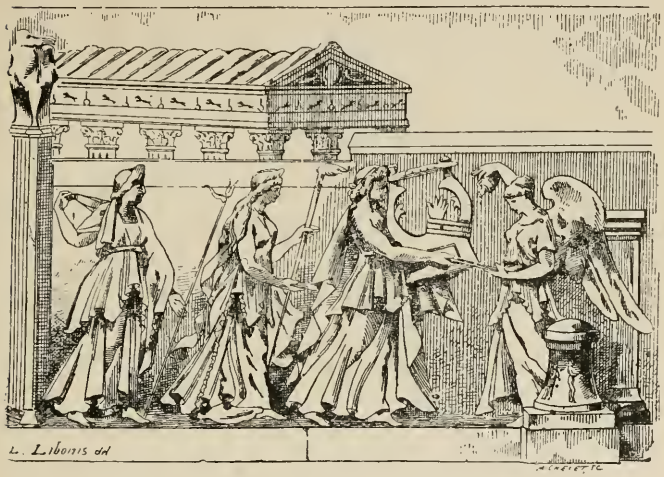

Fig. 40.—Latona, Artemis, and Apollo (bas-relief).

mind and analytical power displayed by the Greeks in expressing by some slight modification of detail, such as the addition of an attribute, all the aspects of the same divinity. Artemis, as goddess of light, is recognisable by the torches which she holds in either hand. In this aspect she is not easily distinguished from Hecate. The Artemis Soteira of Pagæ in the Megarid,

who held two torches, in the statue by Strongylion, forms a sort of transition between the representations of Artemis Soteira and those of Artemis Selasphoros. In this case there can be no doubt that the torches allude to her lunar character. It is as Selasphoros that Artemis is represented on the Delphian ex-votos (fig. 40), where she advances behind Apollo, and holds in her hand a long torch; and if a fanciful passage of Heliodorus is to be accepted as authority, the costume and attributes of the Delphian priestess were the same as those borne by Artemis on these monuments of the Pythian worship. "In her left hand," says the Greek story-teller, "the priestess held a gilt bow, and a quiver hung from her right shoulder. In her other hand she carried a lighted torch, and in this array the brilliance of her eyes made the light of the torches grow pale."[1]

§ 2. Divinities closely connected with Artemis.

The Greek Artemis has nothing but her name in common with the foreign divinities which have been confused with her, and which must be distinguished from her both as to origin and nature. The Greeks themselves favoured assimilation of this kind, by giving to foreign gods the name of the Greek deities which seemed most nearly to resemble them. Thus the moon goddesses of foreign religions very easily became so many Artemises. The Thracians, for instance, worshipped a native divinity lunar in character, Bendis, and Herodotus translates her name as Artemis.[2] On the

[1] Heliodorus, *Ethiopica*, iii., 4.
[2] Herodotus, v., 7.

other hand, the Thracians, under the Greek influence, follow the example of the Greeks, and in their turn bestow on their goddess the characteristics of Artemis. This fusion explains the presence in Thrace, on the rocks of Philippi, of carvings representing the type of the Greek Artemis. No doubt it was the Thracian Bendis who in early days, thanks to the Orphic poets, penetrated into Hellas under the name of Hecate.[1] She there became a Greek divinity closely related to Artemis, and sometimes confused with her. But the dark and mysterious nature of the ritual of Hecate emphasises her infernal aspect, and it is in the chapter concerned with the gods of the lower world that her type in art will be treated.

Sometimes the assimilation of Greek and foreign deities had its origin in nothing more than a mere play of words. This is what took place in the case of Artemis Brauronia, who was honoured in Athens at the sanctuary of Brauron, and on the Acropolis. She was supposed to have come from Tauris; according to the story a very old image of the goddess, preserved in the temple of Brauron, had been brought back from the Taurian land by Orestes and Iphigenia. The transformation of the mysterious and cruel Taurian goddess into the Greek Artemis was due to a philological error. The Brauronian Artemis is simply the

[1] The worship of Bendis was later introduced into Greece, and specially into Attica. In the *Women of Lemnos*, Aristophanes is known to have protested against the invasion of this foreign deity. Bendis had at the Peiræus a sanctuary chiefly visited by the floating population who took no part in the official cults, and there her festival, the Bendideia was held. See P. Foucart, *Les Associations Religieuses en Grèce*; and P. Hartwig, *Bendis*.

Artemis Tauropolos of Lemnos, worshipped at Amphipolis, Samos, and elsewhere, and brought to Brauron at a very ancient date. The coins of Amphipolis (fig. 41) explain the meaning of the name of Tauropolos, or *Tauric*, which was due to the attributes of the goddess, two bulls' horns, forming the lunar crescent. The epithet was connected with the geographical name of Tauris, and the Brauronian goddess was assimilated to the Taurian divinity.

In Asia Minor the same confusion arose in the case of the great goddess of Ephesus, whose origin is purely Asiatic. The lunar character common to both the Ephesian goddess and Artemis may have helped the identification. But the analogy stops there. Goddess of fertility and fruitfulness, the Ephesian Artemis nowise suggests the Dorian maiden Artemis. Art represents her wearing the polos (fig. 42), many breasted, with both hands stretched out and open; her body is wrapped in a sort of sheath adorned with bands of sculpture, where appear heads of different animals, such as stags, lions, and bulls. The wide-spread popularity of her religion, which reached as far as Marseilles, whither it was brought by Greek colonists, explains the frequency of the type in art. In another district of Asia Minor, at Perga in Pamphylia, a deity similar to Artemis is also found, almost identical with the Ephesian goddess.

Fig. 41.—Artemis Tauropolos (coin of Amphipolis).

But the strangest confusion of all is that between

the Greek Artemis and a deity originally Persian,—Anahit, or Anaïtis, who became to the Greeks the Persian Artemis.[1] The type of this goddess in art is shown in some very ancient Greek monuments; to her shoulders are attached scalloped wings, and she holds by one hand a panther, by the other a lion. This figure, entirely un-Greek in type, is a favourite with the artists of the Græco-Oriental period. It was carved upon the chest of Cypselus, and reappears upon some pendants found in the Rhodian necropolis of Camiros, and on the François vase. Even Etruscan art uses it, and it is to be

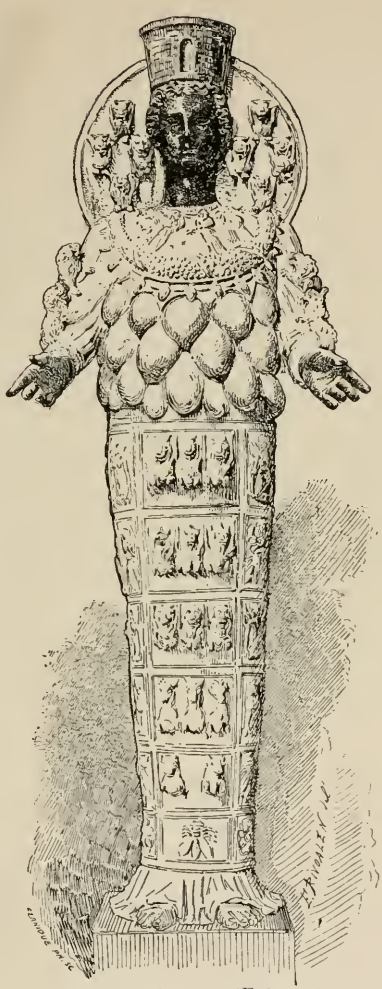

Fig. 42.—Artemis (Ephesus).

[1] See Gerhard's article, "Persische Artemis," *Arch. Zeit.*, 1854, pl. lxi.—lxiii.

seen on some of the black ware ("vacchero nero") of Chiusi, and more recently on some Italian terra-cottas. The large number of representations of this type does not seem to be due to any great diffusion of the worship of the Persian Artemis; on the contrary, the ritual of Anaitis seems to have been localized in Cappadocia, Pontus, and Lydia, and not to have passed beyond them. It was art which caused the spreading abroad of this type of a foreign goddess, in whom, because she was goddess of the beasts of the field, the Greeks recognised their own Artemis. Objects of Eastern workmanship, such as engraved gems and metal bowls, supplied the Greek artist with models, which he copied without knowing what they represented. Pausanias's account shows that the attributes of Anaitis had no meaning for the Greeks.[1]

But notwithstanding all these assimilations, the character of the Greek Artemis, once fixed, remained after the fifth century B.C. almost unaltered. The history of her type shows that classical art never ceased to do honour to the proud figure of the holy huntress.

[1] Pausanias, v., 19.

CHAPTER VI.

HERMES (MERCURY).

G. Müller, *Handbuch*, § 379–81; Brunn, *Kunstmythologie*; Gerhard "Ueber Hermenbilder auf Griechischen Vasen," in the *Akad. Abhandlungen*, ii.

§ 1. Type of Hermes in Art.

The earliest form in art of the son of Zeus and Maia seems to have originated in a false etymology. The pillars of wood or stone which served as boundaries, or guide-posts, at cross-roads, bore the name of Herms, and were looked on as images of the god, owing to a play on the meaning of the Greek word herma (ἕρμα) for boundary, and the name of Hermes (Ἑρμῆς). Very roughly carved at first, the herms gradually assumed a more regular shape, that of a rectangular block, ending in one or more heads. This form of herm was, however, by no means used exclusively for the son of Maia; at Athens, herms have been found with female heads, and again, on many vases it is Dionysus who is thus represented. But in the majority of cases, Gerhard[1] is probably right in recognising Hermes in the bearded head surmounting the rectangular pillar; the beard is long, and ends in a point; sometimes the head wears the petasus, and the caduceus is represented on one of

[1] Gerhard, "Ueber Hermenbilder," *loc. cit.*

the sides of the pillar. Images of this kind were popular at Athens, and the quarter where they were made, and where were grouped the workshops of the sculptors in marble, went by the name of the herm-carvers' district. The herms were set up at the

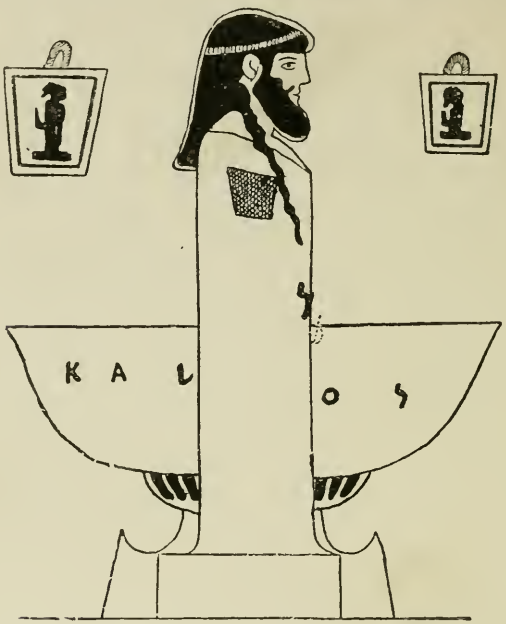

Fig. 43.—Herm of Hermes (vase painting).

corners of streets, in the palæstra, or the gymnasium. They were regular objects of worship ; vase paintings show persons standing before a herm, for purposes of worship, just as the Greek of to-day crosses himself in passing any shrine, however small, of the Panaghia. In one vase representation (fig. 43), near the herm

are small painted pictures hung on the wall; these represent ex-votos, dedicated by the faithful. Under these circumstances it is easy to picture the consternation in Athens caused by the mutilation of the herms on the eve of the Sicilian expedition; it was no less than sacrilege. Though this kind of monument preserves the recollection of one of the earliest attributes of the god, that of *ἀγήτωρ*, or guardian of travellers, they do not all belong to an early period of art. Herms are of all periods; it is in monuments of another class that the development of the plastic type of herms must be traced.

Till the middle of the fifth century, Hermes appears as a full grown man, in the perfection of his vigour. The muscular development is strongly marked. The hair, gathered under a fillet, is brought into a mass at the nape of the neck in the old Greek style, and two curls fall from the temples loose on the shoulders. The long, carefully combed beard is cut to a rectangular shape, and explains the epithet *σφηνοπώγων*, of the pointed beard, sometimes applied to Hermes. The god, clad in a chiton and a chlamys, wears on his head the *κυνῆ*, or cloth pilos, a species of hat with narrow brim; he holds the caduceus, or kerykeion, which originally consisted of a wand ending in two intertwining snakes. In the oldest monuments, he wears only small wings on his feet. Red figured vase paintings, such as fig. 44, show him with boots with scalloped edges and wings, like the foot-gear of winged spirits, such as Nike or Eris; these are the *καλὰ πέδιλα*, "the goodly sandals," of which the Homeric poems tell: "Golden sandals which carry him either over

the liquid wave, or the vast earth, or on the breath of the wind."[1]

Such are the general characteristics shown in the monuments of archaic art. A statue of Hermes made

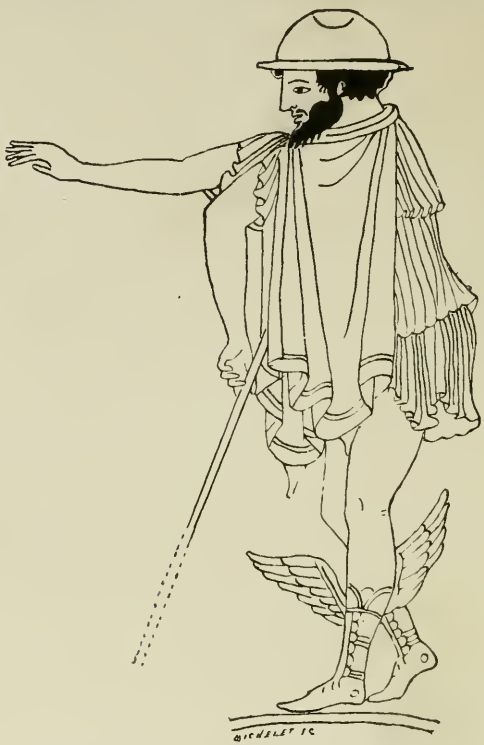

Fig. 44.—Hermes, from vase by Hieron (Berlin).

by Onatas of Ægina and Calliteles, and dedicated by the Phenæans, at Olympia, is known to us only from description; it no doubt represented the type just

[1] *Iliad.*, xxiv., 340 and foll.

spoken of, with an additional feature corresponding to one of the names of Hermes. The god was represented fully draped, wearing his cap (κυνῆ), and carrying a ram under his arm; he was Hermes Kriophoros, or the ram-carrier. Kalamis had treated the same subject for the people of Tanagra, but with a modification often reproduced in subsequent art; a coin of Tanagra shows the Hermes of the Athenian Kalamis carrying the ram upon his shoulders, and holding it by the feet. This coin has made it possible to recognise a possible copy of the work of Kalamis in a statuette belonging to the Pembroke collection at Wilton House, and on an Athenian altar (fig. 45), decorated with bas-reliefs, now in the Central Museum at Athens. In the latter case the type of the god shows considerable delicacy of workmanship. All representations of this

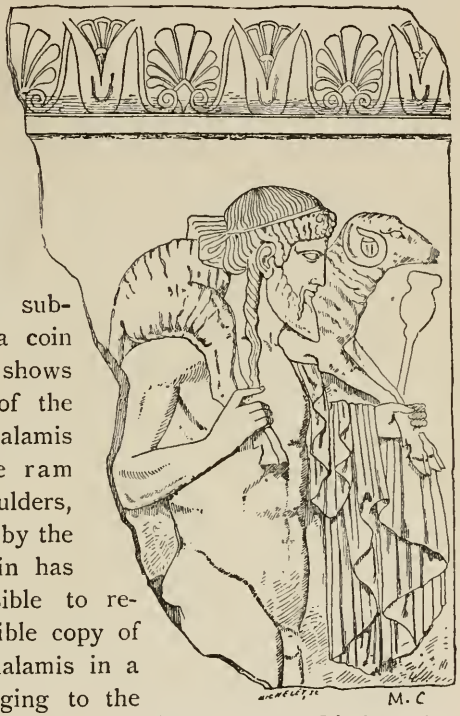

Fig. 45.—Hermes Kriophoros, bas-relief (Central Museum, Athens).

class allude to the pastoral character of Hermes, regarded as the god who guards the flocks. On the other hand, he is accompanying other divinities as the leader (Pompaios), on the bas-reliefs in the Louvre

Fig. 46.—Hermes and Charis, bas-relief from Thasos (Louvre).

(fig. 46), discovered by M. Miller, in the Isle of Thasos. Wearing the short chlamys, and on his head the peaked cloth cap, he escorts the Charites; the type of face is delicate, the figure slender, but the arrangement of

the hair and the pointed beard show that the style is still archaic. The Thasos bas-reliefs show the characteristics of Hermes in the art of the first half of the fifth century.

After the Peloponnesian war, the new Attic school introduced a great change in the conception of Hermes. Enamoured of grace and elegance, the sculptors of this school invested Hermes, as they invested Apollo and the other gods, with the slender figure of youth, a beardless face, and short curly hair; delicacy was stamped on every feature, and agility and vigour on every limb. The god who presided over the exercises of the gymnasium became the ideal of the Greek Ephebe. His statue adorned the Palæstra, and he was the special object of the worship of young men. "Hermes is a god," says an Ephebic inscription, "who has always been dear to the Ephebi."[1] Indeed, the character of Hermes represents some of the qualities most characteristic of the Greek race: their inventive genius, their ready wit, their physical vigour, developed and trained by the education of the wrestling school.

This new type of the younger Hermes is shown in a masterpiece of the fourth century, the statue by Praxiteles, found at Olympia, and representing Hermes carrying the young Dionysus[2] (fig. 47). The god is naked, according to the tradition which prevails in Greek art from the fourth century onwards; he has cast aside the chlamys, which is carelessly thrown across the tree trunk which serves as support to the group; the eyes are rather deep-set,

[1] A. Dumont, *Ephébie Attique*, vol. ii., Inscr. xlix.

[2] G. Treu, *Hermes mit Dionysos Knaben*.

the mouth small, the face wears a smiling expression.

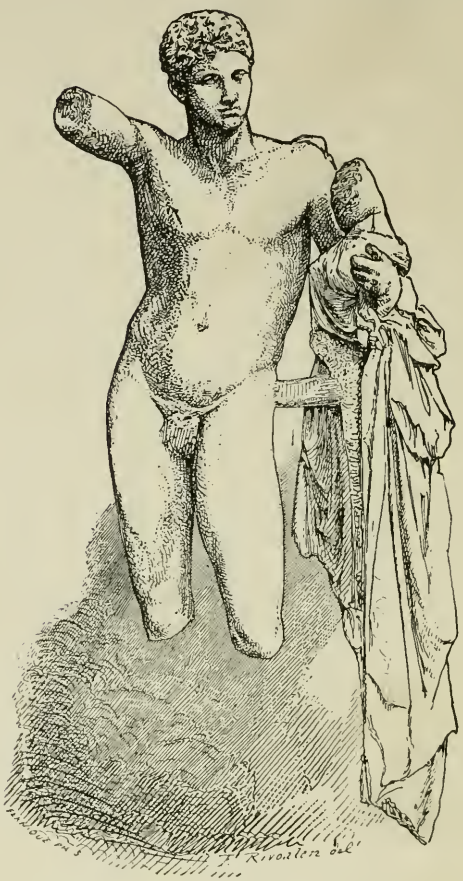

Fig. 47.—Hermes of Praxiteles (Olympia).

The attitude is that so often found in the works of Praxiteles: the weight of the body rests on one leg,

helped by the support of the tree trunk, thus giving a flowing movement to the curves of the outline. In later times the statues of Hermes of this type became widely popular, and hardly any other type was represented ; a good instance of one of the later works is the Belvidere Hermes in the Vatican, the pose of which seems directly suggested by a reminiscence of the work of Praxiteles.

§ 2. Chief Aspects of Hermes.

Owing to his many aspects, Hermes appears constantly in scenes represented in art, without having any great modifications introduced either into his attributes or his plastic type. But the different functions assigned to him explain the moral conception of the god, and the enumeration of them will help to a due understanding of the artistic monuments.

Reference has already been made to his primitive pastoral character, alluded to by the epithet of Kriophoros, which is applied to Hermes carrying the ram. He was worshipped under this name at Tanagra, and this fact explains the common occurrence of Bœotian terra-cottas which represent him carrying a ram under his arm.[1] In a bronze found in Arcadia he appears in the same attitude ; it is natural that the shepherd peoples of Greece should have faithfully preserved the ritual of Hermes, guardian of flocks. Thus the ram is a frequent attribute of Hermes, either carried by

[1] He sometimes carries the strigil, in memory of the Eretrian attack which he repulsed, armed only with the strigil, at the head of the young men of Tanagra. Conze, *Annali*, 1858, "Monum, Tanagrei."

him, or standing beside him. This type was very common, and it is probable that to it may be traced

Fig. 48.—Farnese Hermes (Naples).

one of the commonest subjects of Christian art, that, namely, of the Good Shepherd.

A favourite subject of art is Hermes in his aspect of messenger of the gods. This view is represented in a large number of extant statues, such, for instance, as the Farnese Hermes, and the bronze found at Herculaneum (fig. 48), which shows the god seated on a rock ready to take wing again to accomplish the bidding of Zeus. After the fourth century the sculptors began to emphasise and multiply those attributes which allude to the rapidity of Hermes' flight; little wings are attached to his head-gear, and to the Kerykeion, which is more elaborately decorated as time goes on. As herald of the gods, Hermes appears from early days on vases and bas-reliefs in a large number of scenes. He is present at the trial of Marsyas, at the fight of Perseus with the Gorgon; he accompanies the Muses, and leads to Paris the three goddesses who are going to contend for the prize of beauty. He it is again who precedes the gods in the divine processions often represented on vases; and in sacrificial scenes it is the duty of Hermes to lead the victim, as in the bas-reliefs which decorate the lower part of the Barberini candelabra.

The function of Hermes as messenger brings him into relations with the lower world gods. He is the Psychopompos (leader of souls), who conducts the souls of the dead to the dark regions of Hades. Homeric poetry shows him waving his golden wand, and followed by a crowd of souls close pressed together, and uttering weak lamentations.[1] The art of the fourth and third centuries represents this idea with great dignity. On a fine sepulchral marble urn, found at Athens, Hermes

[1] *Odyssey*, xxiv

leads by the hand a young woman, Myrrhina, lately dead, who follows him with downcast eyes, while a group of three persons gaze upon the scene with holy awe. But Hermes is no longer, as in the Homeric poems, the pitiless guide of the rustling crowd of souls; turning towards his companion, his rapid movement shows all the grace of the Greek Ephebe. Messenger of the gods of the lower world, as well as of the gods of heaven, Hermes sometimes brings back to the light of day those mortals who have won from Hades permission to look upon it once again. On one of the sculptured columns found at Ephesus by Mr. Wood,[1] the figure of Hermes appears. It has been thought by some archæologists that he is represented here as Psychopompos, and is about to escort Alcestis on her return to life from Hades' realm; but the interpretation lacks proof. Hermes undoubtedly appears as Psychopompos in the fine bas-relief of Orpheus and Eurydice in the Villa Albani (fig. 49). In the Roman period, when the symbolism of the tomb had come into fashion among the sculptors under the Antonines, the carvings on sarcophagi often portray the Leader of souls playing a part in mystic allegories.[2] Thus he brings to the body, fashioned by Prometheus, the soul which is to animate it, in the shape of Psyche. Again, when the soul enters into the life of the future, it is Hermes who draws her to Eros, with whom she is to be for ever united in everlasting love. But such scenes as these are due to a completely new train of

[1] *Discoveries at Ephesus;* see also Curtius, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1873, pls. lxv., lxvi.

[2] *Sarcophages du Capitole, du Louvre, du Museo Borbonico.*

thought, and to a conception of the future altogether unknown in the best period of Greek art. At the

Fig. 49.—Hermes, Orpheus, and Eurydice, bas-relief (Villa Albani).

bottom of all of them, however, lies the fundamental notion of Hermes as messenger.

In the mind of the Greek artist, one main function of Hermes is that of the patron of gymnastic exercises. He was worshipped at Athens and Eleusis as Enagonios, and presided over the struggles and contests of the wrestling school.[1] Some fine statues expressing this idea have been preserved. A marble found at Atalanti, the old Opuntus, shows the god in the aspect of a young man of strongly-marked muscular development and slender build, betraying the influence of the school of Lysippus. The chlamys is thrown back on the shoulder, and rolled round his arm; he seems ready for the wrestling bout. The Atalanti statue, like the Belvidere Hermes of the Vatican, is no doubt a copy from a famous original; it is a well-known fact that there was a constant manufacture of copies, in which the main lines were taken from a masterpiece, with the addition, by the copyist, of certain accessories, such, for instance, as the lyre and palm branch placed beside Hermes, in another statue in the Vatican. Sometimes a modification in the position draws attention to the particular aspect which the sculptor wishes to represent. A statue of Hermes in the Villa Ludovisi shows the god with outstretched arm in the gesture familiar to the orator; this is Hermes Logios, the god of eloquence and subtle argumentation, who charms and persuades.[2]

The complex character of Hermes, who combines in his own person the most diverse qualities of the

[1] *Corpus Inscr. Grac.*, i., p. 252, col. 1.

[2] A statue in the Louvre, signed by Cleomenes the Athenian, represents an orator as Hermes. It is possible that this is a copy of the famous statue of the god *Musée Français*, Pt. iv., pl. 19.

Greek race, supplies other subjects to art than those mentioned. As god of gain (κερδῷος), as god of bargains and social transactions (ἀγοραῖος), Hermes is represented with the caduceus in one hand and the purse in the other. He appears thus in a statue lately found at Ægium ;[1] but the type was known before this discovery in certain statues in the Louvre and the Altemps Palace, and in some bronzes in the British Museum and the Paris Cabinet of Bronzes. But it is to be remembered that this type was not developed till late, and under influences far removed from pure Greek tradition. The Ægium statue, like most extant bronzes, belongs to the Roman period, and shows the modifications introduced by the practical temper of the Romans into the conception of the Greek Hermes. The Roman Mercury, worshipped in Italy and the provinces of Gaul,[2] is especially the god of business, dear to the merchant, who adorns his shop with statuettes of Mercury. In Rome a temple and a fountain near the Porta Capena were dedicated to him. With a touch of irony, Ovid shows the merchants performing their devotions near the holy fount, and entreating the god to forgive their cheating,[3] "Hearing their prayers, Mercury smiled, remembering how he too had stolen away the oxen of Ortygia." But the god to whom the Roman poet attributes so kindly an attitude towards the cheat has only a distant connection with the Hermes of the Greeks.

[1] Körte, *Mitt. des. Deutsch, Arch. Inst.*, 1878, pl. 5. The article gives a list of statues which may be compared with the Ægium figure, p. 98.

[2] A fine bronze found at Lyons is well known. Braun, *Kunstmythologie*, pl. 96.

[3] Ovid *Fasti* v., 675.

CHAPTER VII.

ARES (*MARS*).

O. Müller, *Handbuch der Arch. der Kunst*, § 372.

In Homeric tradition, Ares is the god "of the golden helm . . . the shield-bearer . . . clad in bronze armour, strong of hand, and untiring."[1] His voice is terrible, his stature huge; when, in the twenty-first Book of the *Iliad*, Athena brings him to the ground, his body covers seven plethra.[2] This warrior-type offered no great variety of treatment to early art. And in the older vase paintings, such as the François vase, Ares is represented as a hoplite, fully armed. The inscription beside him is necessary to distinguish him from the other heroes of the Trojan cycle. Archaic coins furnish no indications as to the type of Ares, for the god seems not to have been honoured by any city as its tutelar divinity. The ancient type of Ares seems to have been that of a bearded warrior, robust and vigorous, and clad in complete armour.

But early symbolism used other and most expressive means to indicate the formidable functions and attributes of the war god. Ares brings in his train evil dæmons, who intervene in the fray, and excite the rage of the combatants. Among his followers appears

[1] *Homeric Hymn to Ares*, v., 1–3.
[2] *Iliad*, xxi., 407.

Eris (discord), who figures on the chest of Cypselus, a hideous (*αἰσχίστη*) creature, who stands by during the single combat of Ajax and Hector. A vase-painting (fig. 50) represents her as a woman of forbidding aspect, in the form of a Gorgon, furnished with a double pair of wings, and flying near Adrastus and Tydeus.[1] She

Fig. 50.—Eris (vase-painting).

was probably represented in much the same fashion in the painting of the Samian Kolophon for the temple of the Ephesian Artemis, before the eightieth Olympiad (456 B.C.). Other companions of Ares are Deimos (Fear), Agon (Contest), and Phobos (Terror). Early art represents all these as winged figures, moving on in rapid flight. The hideous head of a figure of this kind

[1] Gerhard, "Ueber Flügelgestalten der alten Kunst," in the *Akad. Abhandlungen*, pl. x., 1.

is shown on the shield of a warrior in a vase from Melos of very early style.[1] These symbols of terror, taking their origin in a youthful and naïve imagination, disappear, or undergo great modification as art advances.

In monuments of a later date, Ares is represented with no adjuncts but the helm and spear. Often he is naked; at other times he wears only a chlamys fastened on the shoulder. On an amphora in the Louvre, representing the Gigantomachia, he is armed with the lance, and clad in a richly embroidered tunic. The type of the god is that of a man in the full vigour of life, with short hair, unkempt beard, and a stern expression of countenance. But at some date, probably in the fourth century B.C., a youthful type of Ares, as of most of the other gods, was introduced, and a coin of the Mamertines[2] (fig. 51) offers an instance of it. Scopas seems to have adopted this type in the colossal statue of the god which was carried to Rome, and dedicated in a temple near the Flaminian Circus.[3] It is possible that a greatly reduced copy of the work of the Parian sculptor is to be seen in one of the bas-reliefs of the triumphal arch of Constantine. Above Trajan and Hadrian, who are sacrificing upon an altar, is a statue of Ares. The god, naked and beardless, is seated, and holds in one hand a spear, in the other a

Fig. 51.—Ares (Mamertine coin).

[1] Conze, *Melische Thongefæsse*, pl. iii.

[2] Ares is naked and beardless in the bas-reliefs of the altar in the Louvre, called the altar "des douze dieux." But a most unfortunate restoration has bestowed on him a scalloped cuirass.

[3] Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi., 26.

victory. The figure has altogether the appearance of a cultus statue, and it seems very likely that it may be a reproduction of the colossal Ares by Scopas. Among the few monuments which represent Ares, great importance attaches to the Ares of the Villa Ludovisi[1] (fig. 52). Here the god, beardless and with short hair, is seated, his hands crossed upon his sword; his shield is at his feet, and near him plays a Love; the pose is one of rest. A certain similarity between this figure and the Apoxyomenos of Lysippus, as regards the proportions, has given rise to the supposition that this statue belongs to the Hellenistic period, and was the work of a school in which the tradition of the manner of the Sicyonian sculptor was prevalent. Some archæologists believe that the figure was part of a group, in which were Aphrodite and another Love. The common association of Ares and Aphrodite is justified by religious tradition. Their statues often stood side by side in the same temple, as in the sanctuary on the road from Argos to Mantinea.[2] A certain number of monuments preserve the memory of this common worship, and vase paintings more than once represent Ares and Aphrodite united, either in the assembly of the gods, or in the scenes of the Gigantomachia. Græco-Roman art borrowed from this story one of its most familiar subjects, shown in the groups of Venus and Mars preserved in the Louvre and the Villa Borghese. A series of groups of this kind suggested to M. Ravaisson the conjecture that the Venus of Melos was joined with a statue of Mars.

[1] Schreiber, *Ant. Bildwerke in der Villa Ludovisi*, p. 85.

[2] Pausanias, ii., 25, 1.

To sum up, the type of Ares is one of the least

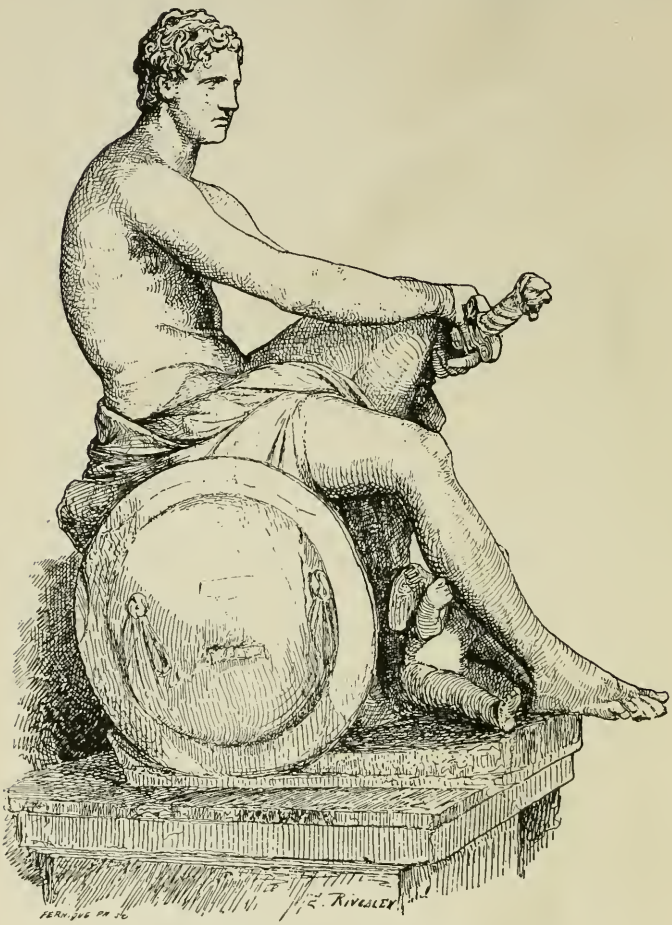

Fig. 52.—Ares Ludovisi (Villa Ludovisi, Rome).

common subjects of Greek sculpture. To the Greeks

the war-god was only a secondary character, and was usually regarded as a Thracian. His hill at Athens, the Areopagus, came to be regarded as sacred to him by a false etymology; it was really the hill of the Curses (Aræ). He does not become of great importance till the days of Roman mythology. His worship was widespread among the people of Italic race,[1] and Rome found in the warrior god a deity in harmony with the Roman genius. Thus almost all the extant statues of Mars are of Roman workmanship. Alcamenes and Scopas are the only Greek sculptors who represented Ares.

[1] See the statue of Mars found at Todi, the ancient Tuder. O. Rayet, *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, 2nd edition.

CHAPTER VIII.

APHRODITE AND EROS (VENUS AND CUPID).

Gerhard, "Ueber Venusidole," in the *Akad. Abhandlungen;* Layard *Recherches sur le Culte de Vénus;* Bernoulli, *Aphrodite, ein Baustein zur Griechischen Kunstmythologie* (Leipzig: 1873).

§ 1. Type of Aphrodite in Art.

Underlying the Greek legends of Aphrodite are unmistakable traces of the Oriental origin of certain aspects of her worship, and these have been amply confirmed of late years by the researches of modern science. In the Theogony of Hesiod, hardly is the goddess, begotten of Ouranos, born of the sea wave, when she floats lightly to the shores of Cyprus, where she is welcomed by the Horai, who adorn her with necklets and wreaths before leading her to Olympus.[1] This legend, put into plastic form in monuments representing the arrival of Aphrodite in Cyprus, is no more than a poetical version of the facts of the story. It is indeed from Cyprus that some forms of the worship of the goddess spread into Greece; though it is not to be supposed that the Greeks had no goddess of Love till she came to them from the East. But the Cypriotes themselves serve only as a medium, and the origin of certain aspects

[1] Hesiod, *Theog.*, ll. 187—206.

of the Greek Aphrodite must be sought further back than Cyprus. This, however, is not the place to discuss that question, and it must suffice to remind the reader that for a long time past the Asiatic East had been familiar with deities whom the Greeks themselves compared with their own Aphrodite, and of whom the likeness is preserved in the terra-cottas of Babylon, Chaldæa, and Susa.[1] These images are marked by a barbarous naturalism, and accentuate the characteristic features of the goddesses of fertility and fruitfulness. Laden with jewels and necklets, the Eastern Aphrodite puts her two hands to her breasts as though to express the milk from them. That the worship of this goddess was carried by the Phœnicians into Cyprus is proved by the presence among the terra-cottas found in the island of what are almost exact copies of the goddess worshipped at Susa. One of these, now in the Louvre, is reproduced in fig. 53.

The individual qualities of the Asiatic deities of fertility are too undefined to make it possible to attempt to describe briefly the transition of the type from the East by Phœnicia and Cyprus. It is certainly in Cyprus that the prototype of the Greek Aphrodite must be sought; for it was in Cyprus most of all that contact took place between Greece and the East. The population of Cyprus worshipped a goddess of Syrian origin, Astarté-Atargatis, whose worship was brought from Ascalon to Cyprus by a colony from Ascalon, under the leadership of Kinyras. Herodotus gives the name of Aphrodite Ourania, or the Heavenly Aphrodite,

[1] See the *Catalogue des Figurines Antiques de Terre Cuite du Louvre*, by M. L. Heuzey, p. 32 and foll.

to the Syrian goddess who became the Cyprian Aphrodite. Archæologists are agreed that this goddess may be recognised in the numerous small figures found at Cyprus, representing a female figure in long drapery, holding in her right hand an apple or a flower, and hiding under the folds of her veil her left hand held close to her breast. At other times she holds both the apple and the flower, as on the curious patera found at Idalia. She was also figured in the form of a cone, as on the coinage of Cyprus, where doves perch on the roof of a temple which protects a conical stone. The dove was a bird specially sacred to the Cyprian goddess.[1] According to the statement of Athenæus, a large number of doves were reared within the precinct of the goddess at Paphos, a picture recalled in the present day by the flights of pigeons which may be seen settling on the plane-trees

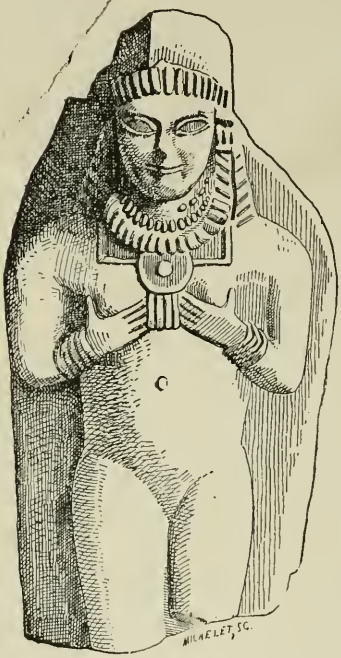

Fig. 53.—Aphrodite, terra-cotta idol (Louvre).

[1] See the terra-cottas of Tortosa, of Phœnician origin, where Aphrodite holds a dove against her breast. De Longpérier, *Musée Napoléon III.*, pl. xxvi., No. 2.

which shade the courts of some of the Turkish mosques.

It is easy to see that trade may have carried these images of the goddess all over the eastern portion of the Mediterranean. Many traders, doubtless, followed the example of the Greek merchant of Naukratis, Herostratos, who on returning from a pilgrimage to Paphos about the fifty-third Olympiad (564 B.C.), brought home a small statuette of Aphrodite, and dedicated it in one of her sanctuaries, as a miraculous image.[1] It is a noticeable fact that in Greece the temples containing the most ancient statues of the goddess mentioned by classical authorities were all near the coast or in islands, at Cythera, for instance, Argos, and Athens; everywhere where communication by sea made traffic with the East easy. While Greek art was still under the domination of foreign influences it borrowed from Cyprian art the type of Aphrodite; and on the other hand, no sooner was Greek archaic art emancipated from such influence than it began to re-act upon the art of Cyprus. Some such theory as this explains the strong family likeness of the archaic images of Aphrodite, whether the terra-cottas come from Cyprus, or belong to Rhodes or Greece proper.

From this time the development of the type of the goddess may be studied in Greece, and irrespective of its Oriental origin. Archaic art long felt the influence of Cyprus, and the type adopted by Greek sculptors was the one known through the terra-cottas of Cyprus, but they invest it with a grace and a severity which are

[1] See Heuzey, *loc. cit.*, p. 120.

entirely Hellenic. The goddess, whose mysterious

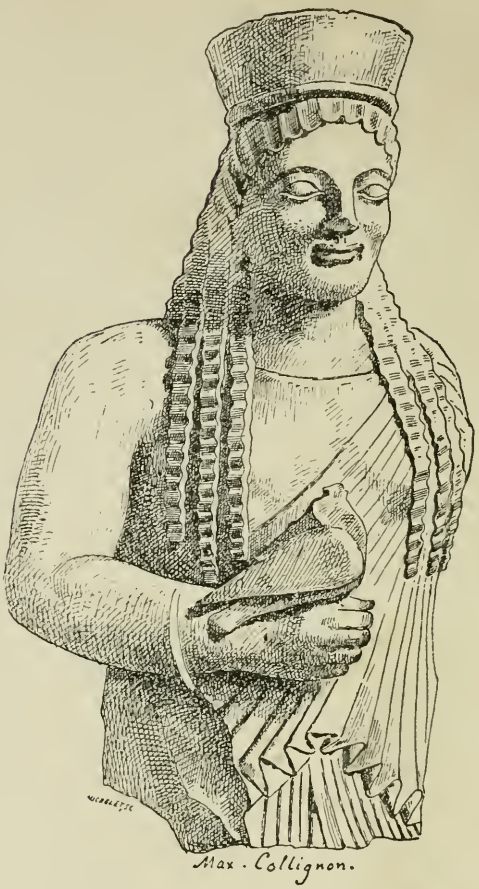

Fig. 54.—Aphrodite and dove (Lyons).

power presides over natural growth and marriage, is represented in the most chaste of aspects. Entirely

draped in the close-fitting chiton and the long robe, she holds in one hand to her breast a fruit or flower or dove, while the other gathers up lightly a fold of her dress. The statue of the Museum of Lyons (fig. 54), though broken off at the waist, gives some idea of this type. M. Fr. Lenormant truly remarks that the work is entirely Greek in character, and is inclined to recognise in it a specimen of Ionian art of the same period as the statues of the Branchidæ.[1] It is probable that archaic art never made any considerable departure from this type. Pausanias describes the statue of Aphrodite executed by Kanachos for Sicyon in words appropriate to the Cyprian images. "The goddess, made of gold and ivory, wears the polos on her head; in one hand she holds a poppy, and in the other an apple."[2] The same type appears in a series of small bronzes of Æginetan style, some of which have served as handles for mirrors; the apple and flower are the regular sacred attributes. It would seem that the figure known to Greek archaic art was the Aphrodite Ourania, or Heavenly Aphrodite, whose power is felt through all the world of nature, and who, in the fine lines of Euripides, fills full the earth with love and fruitfulness. "The majestic heaven big with rain is filled by Aphrodite's will with desire to fall upon the earth, and from their union is begotten and nourished all that gives life and increase to the race of men."[3]

But this power over all living beings soon began, according to Greek tradition, to assume a more defined

[1] *Gazette Archéologique*, 1876, p. 133.

[2] Pausanias, ii., 10, 4.

[3] Fragment quoted by Athenæus, xiii., 74.

Fig. 55.—Aphrodite mirror handles.

and limited influence. To the Greeks, Aphrodite is more especially the goddess who reigns in the heart of man; mistress of desire, which she arouses at will, she possesses in the very highest degree the charm of beauty. The imagination of the poet clothes her with every attraction. In the Homeric hymn, she wears "a veil more dazzling than the radiance of fire, bracelets, and earrings; her neck is laden with golden necklets, and her fair breast gleams even as the moon."[1] As late as the fifth century B.C., however, art still remains faithful to the severe type of the early artist. Monuments of the best style show the goddess clad in the long robe and the ancient chiton; often too the gesture of the right hand, wrapped in the drapery and resting on the breast, recalls the pose of the early images. This is the type represented in some bronze statuettes of severe style, several of which served as supports to mirrors; an example from the Copenhagen Museum is reproduced in fig. 55. Again, as in an instance in the British Museum the goddess is accompanied by two winged spirits, Pothos and Himeros. Unfortunately no authentic marble statues of the fifth century have been preserved, but a fine bas-relief of the school of Pheidias points to the probability that sculpture on the large scale still observed the old tradition. The relief referred to is the fragment of the eastern frieze of the Parthenon, where Aphrodite is represented veiled, and accompanied by Eros. It is known that Pheidias made three statues of the goddess, one of them being a chryselephantine statue of Aphrodite Ourania, for the city of Elis; it is perhaps

[1] *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, iv., 86-90.

a justifiable inference that the Athenian sculptor represented her veiled, and the same theory holds good of the Aphrodite in the Gardens (ἐν κήποις), the work of Alcamenes. Again, vase painters of the same period represent a similar type; an illustration is afforded by the fine cylix by Hieron, in which the goddess appears attended by love-gods as she advances to the judgment of Paris (fig. 63).

Fig. 56.—Aphrodite Ourania, vase-painting (British Museum).

Perhaps the loveliest representation of Aphrodite that ancient art has left us is the cylix from the British Museum given in fig. 56. The design is in polychrome on a white ground, and the drawing is of extraordinary purity and delicacy. Of its beauty no mechanical reproduction can give any idea; the original must be studied. The goddess is here in a very special sense Ourania. She sails serenely through the air upon her swan, holding in her hand a delicate flower spray. From an inscription, and from several other vase paintings, it is certainly known that Aphrodite on the swan was a special and well-established type of the aspect Ourania.[1] The bird is quite conventionalized, and, drawn in an impossible attitude, the goddess herself

[1] Kalkmann, *Jahrbuch d. k. d. Instituts*, 1886, i., 4, p. 1.

sits a little constrainedly on her strange steed, but with a careful dignity that wins the eye to reverence.

In proportion as art became less religious and more sceptical, it emphasised in the type of the goddess of love the graceful and sensuous side, and the severe dignity of Aphrodite Ourania underwent some modification. Indeed, Aphrodite herself developed, as it were, a double personality. In the fourth century one of the favourite topics of Platonic literature is the contrast between the two Aphrodites, of whom the more recent evokes ideas of voluptuousness and ordinary love. The reader will remember the passage in Plato's *Symposium* so often quoted: "Who doubts that there are two Aphrodites? One, the elder, is daughter of Ouranos, and has no mother; her we call Aphrodite Ourania. The other is younger, and daughter of Zeus and Dione; and we call her Aphrodite Pandemos." Art drew its inspiration from the subtle distinctions of philosophy. Beside the goddess of Elis, Ourania, executed by Pheidias, was placed the statue of Pandemos riding a goat, the work of Scopas—a contrast, indeed, to the stately flight of Aphrodite on the swan. The distinction between Pandemos and Ourania, as the lower and the higher loves, is due purely to philosophic speculation, helped out probably by a false etymology. The question here only so far concerns us as the distinction influenced art; but it may briefly be noted that inscriptions have recently shown that the cult of Pandemos, as established by State, was quite as reverent and respectable as that of Ourania.[1]

The modifications introduced by art into the type of

[1] Foucart, *Bull. de Corr. Hell*, 1889, i. and ii., p. 157.

Aphrodite are especially shown in the details of the dress. The gradual disappearance of drapery can be traced in the succession of statues in modern museums, and looks like a sort of revival of the early nude Aphrodite of the East. The principal types created from the fifth century onwards will be here enumerated, but no attempt will be made to arrange them in strict chronological order. A large number of statues of different periods represent Aphrodite clad in the ungirdled chiton made of a fine material, which clings to the figure, and leaves the right shoulder and breast bare. Often with one hand she draws back the mantle that floats out behind her, and in the other holds the apple, symbol of fertility. This attribute appears most often in small bronzes and on coins. Among statues may be mentioned that in the Chiaramonti Museum in the Vatican, to which the head of the Empress Sabina has been fitted. This type of Aphrodite approaches the old type of Ourania, and is especially appropriate to her as goddess of marriage. At Rome the same type appears as Venus Genetrix, represented on the bronze coins of the Empress Sabina, a statue of whom was executed by the Greek sculptor Arcesilaus, for a temple in Cæsar's forum.

The half-draped statues of Aphrodite, of which the famous statue of the Louvre, found at Melos (fig. 57), furnishes a fine example, mark a further modification. This type seems to form a transition from the draped to the undraped type. "It is inconceivable," says M. Bernoulli, "that Aphrodite can have been represented completely undraped in sculptural art unless public sentiment had been prepared for the change by

statues partially draped."[1] But it is in truth difficult to determine when this type begins to appear. Possibly it originates with Scopas. It is certain that there are some grounds for assigning the Venus from Melos to the school of the Parian sculptor, who himself made several statues of the goddess; and this view is borne out by the severe grace of the style. To judge from the number of replicas, this type, doubtless created by some master, won great popularity. It represents—if, indeed, it is an Aphrodite at all, which lacks proof—the victorious and resistless might of Aphrodite Nikephoros. The attitude of the Capua statue, in the museum at Naples, is characteristic; the goddess has one foot

Fig. 57.—Venus of Melos (Louvre).

[1] *Aphrodite*, p. 137.

placed on a helmet, as if her irresistible power defied even the might of arms. Again, on imperial coins, Venus the Victorious gazes at her reflection in a shield. From this type, by a process easy to account for, Roman symbolism borrowed the features, the attitude, and attributes of Victory. The fine bronze statue of Victory at Brescia, found in the ruins of Vespasian's basilica, reproduces the type of the Aphrodite Nikephoros.

In the fourth century, a bold step was taken by a sculptor belonging to the new Attic school. Praxiteles ventured to remove all her drapery from Aphrodite, and show her in all the bright beauty of her nakedness. Pliny[1] relates that he executed two statues of the goddess—one draped, the other naked. The inhabitants of Cos, influenced by feelings of religious awe, preferred the former; the people of Cnidus took the second, and dedicated it in the temple of Aphrodite Euploia. This is the figure shown on the coins of Cnidus in the collections at Paris and Berlin. The goddess has just let fall her last piece of drapery which she still holds and is in the act of dropping upon a vase full of perfumes that stands beside her. Ancient writers are unanimous in celebrating the sensuous charms of the statue. Lucian gives to his ideal lady the forehead and the pure line of the eyebrow of the Cnidian Aphrodite. The poets of the Anthology sing of her over and over again in their fanciful epigrams: "Cytherean Aphrodite, borne on the wave, has gone to Cnidus to look upon her own likeness. She gazed upon it from a good point of view, and then uttered her plaint, 'Where, then, has Praxiteles beheld me

[1] Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi., 20.

undraped?' 'No, Praxiteles has turned no sacrilegious gaze upon thee; but his chisel was able to represent thee as Ares loved thee.'"[1]

The work of Praxiteles was too completely in harmony with the sensuous taste of a sceptical age not to enjoy an immense popularity. The imitations that have come down to the present time show how common the new type soon became in art. During the recent excavations conducted by the French School of Athens at Ali-Aga, on the site of Myrina,[2] a large number of terra-cotta statuettes have been found which are rough copies of the Cnidian Aphrodite. Various European museums possess marble copies more or less faithful; such, for instance, as the statue in the Glyptothek of Munich, and the Vatican statue.[3] This last seems most closely to resemble the style of the original, although the original is disfigured by drapery deemed necessary by a prudish pope. A cast of the figure without this modern addition may be seen at the South Kensington Museum. Some idea of the features may perhaps be found in a colossal head in the Capitol Museum, and in the charming head in Parian marble found in 1823 in the theatre at Arles. The delicate oval of the face, the graceful and simple arrangement of the hair, held back by a band, are suited to the type created by the famous master of the new Attic school. After his time the subject was taken up by artists and treated

[1] Epigram by Plato, *Anth. Planud.*, iv., 160

[2] See Reinach and Pottier, "Fouilles dans la Nécropole de Myrina," *Bull. de Corresp. Hell.*, 1882, p. 557 and foll.; 1883, p. 81 and foll.

[3] Musée Pio Clementino, No. 574. For the replicas of the Cnidian Aphrodite, see Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit*, 1876, p. 146; *Die Vatikanischen Repliken der Knidischen Aphrodite.*

in an infinite variety of ways. While Praxiteles represented the goddess naked for a moment, as though by chance, his imitators produce variations of the theme of nudity, and seek in it the essential features of the new ideal type of Aphrodite. The Venus of the Capitol (fig. 58), which is not earlier than the third century before Christ, the Venus de Medici at Florence, the work of Cleomenes of Athens, according to an inscription on its base,[1] are the most noteworthy instances of the long series of statues in which the goddess is represented in an attitude of somewhat mock modesty. It is strange that in the days of its decline art returns to the attitude of the old Asiatic idols, but with an entirely different object. The likeness is entirely superficial between the Venus of the Capitol and the coarsely executed figures of Syria or Babylonia, representing the Eastern Aphrodite.

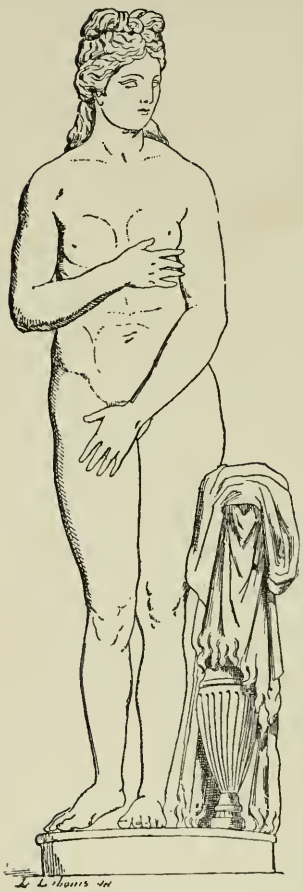

Fig. 58.—Venus of the Capitol (Capitoline Museum).

[1] Michælis, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1880, p. 13.

Fig. 59.—Crouching Venus (Naples).

Græco-Roman art took delight in producing varia

tions of the type of Aphrodite at the bath. Sometimes the goddess is stooping down, ready for the scented oil which Eros pours over her; this at least seems to be the function of the goddess's habitual companion in the Cavaccepi group. The statue in the Museum of Naples, formerly belonging to the Farnese collection (fig. 59), and the fine statue in the Louvre found at Vienne in Dauphiny, belong to the same class, a class already existing in the Alexandrine period; an artist of the time of the Diadochi, Daidalos, treated the subject.[1] On other occasions, the goddess is unfastening her sandals, or wringing her wet hair, as in a statue in the Torlonia collection.[2] The reader will remember that this was the way in which Apelles conceived his Anadyomene, in the famous picture within the Asklepieion at Cos. There the painter was alluding to the old myth of the birth of Aphrodite from the wave. But this class of statue belongs especially to the last period of Greek art, when religious feeling had been succeeded by scepticism, and artists, instead of developing the ideal type of the goddess, confined themselves to devising an infinite number of variations on the theme invented by the genius of Praxiteles.

It is impossible to give in detail the list of the scenes in which Aphrodite appears, or the groups in

[1] Perhaps it was known even earlier. See a gem of the best fourth-century workmanship, representing Aphrodite stooping. Stephani, *Compte Rendu de la Commission Arch. de St. Petersbourg*, 1870-1871, pl. iv., 24.

[2] Compare the line of Ovid:

"Nuda Venus madidas exprimit imbre comas."

Ars Amor., iii., 224.

which she makes one. In sculpture, as has been said, Eros is her constant companion. There are also marble groups in which the goddess is joined with Ares, in accordance with the tradition already noted as connecting the two divinities. As early as the chest of Cypselus, Ares armed was represented carrying off Aphrodite; and she appears, in conjunction with the war-god, on the François vase in the Florence Museum, and on a bowl of Sosias of fine severe style at Berlin. But it was the sculptors of the Roman period who were specially fond of representing Venus Victrix with her arms about Mars, as in the group of the Villa Borghese. Probably the large number of such groups is due to the peculiar favour with which the worship of these two gods was regarded by the Julian imperial family.[1] The group is reproduced on the coins of the imperial period, and Augustus is known to have consecrated a temple to Mars the Avenger, in the sculptural decoration of which a similar subject was no doubt introduced.

The story of the judgment of Paris, and the loves of Aphrodite and the young Syrian god Adonis, furnished artists with subjects which they were not slow to take advantage of. Countless vase paintings represent Aphrodite, Hera, and Athena led by Hermes before Paris, clad sometimes as a Greek, sometimes as a Phrygian, and about to award the prize of beauty.[2] The legend of Adonis is chiefly represented on late monuments, such as Italian vases and Roman sar-

[1] See Helbig, *Untersuchungen ueber die Camp. Wandmalerei*, p. 26.

[2] See particularly the cylix of Hieron, of which a portion is reproduced in fig. 63.

cophagi. The student will not need to be reminded of the mystic meaning attached to the worship of the young god beloved of Aphrodite, who died in the flower of his youth pierced by the tusk of a wild boar. The festival of the Adonia, a special favourite with women, was held in many Greek countries, and Theocritus records with what gorgeous pomp the ritual was celebrated at Alexandria.[1] It is easy to understand that this myth, Asiatic in origin, furnished subjects for the decoration of the sarcophagi of the Roman Empire. It was at that period that the first beginnings of mysticism brought into fashion a taste for funereal symbols and allusions to a future life. But no statue of Adonis is known belonging to the best period of Greek art.

Vase painters, on the other hand, in the best period, found in the representation of the companions of Aphrodite an inexhaustible source of graceful imaginings. Around the goddess herself are grouped secondary deities, whose names describe the manifold sensations evoked by the mysterious power of Aphrodite. On an Attic vase of marvellous delicacy, adorned with gilding in relief,[2] the goddess appears surrounded by a group of young women holding ornaments and fruits. These are Paidia, typifying Mirth; Peitho, the goddess of Persuasion, Eunomia, and Eudaimonia,—names somewhat undefined, but alluding possibly to the peace and happiness brought into existence by the goddess of love; Eros, it will be seen, has a whole cycle of representations in art.

[1] Theocritus, *Idyll.*, xv.

[2] The vase is in the British Museum.

§ 2. Eros and His Cycle.

Gerhard, "Ueber den Gott Eros," in the *Akad. Abhandlungen;* A. Furtwængler, *Eros in der Vasenmalerei* (Munich : 1875); L. Menard, "Eros : Etude sur la Symbolique du Désir," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1870; H. Riggauer, "Eros auf Münzen," in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1880.

The mythological origin of Eros is very obscure. This is not the place to relate all the legends which were current in ancient theogonies, as to the genealogy of Eros. It matters little to art whether Love be, as Hesiod[1] says, a primordial god contemporary with Chaos and Gaia, who brings together the parted elements of the early world; whether he be son of Gaia and Ouranos, or of Kronos, as in the Orphic tradition; or whether he be the son of Aphrodite, according to the most widespread story. These contradictory genealogies betray reflection and scientific research, and have little to do with the popular faith. Their influence may, however, be traced in some monuments, where the artist seems to have remembered the part of primordial deity assigned to Eros. For instance, in the silver-gilt plaque found at Galaxidi,[2] Eros is represented welcoming Aphrodite as she rises from the waves of the sea at the instant of her birth. Learned theogonies, however, seem to have had no influence in determining the type in art of Love. Indeed, Eros has no clearly defined story of his own which is capable of plastic representation, and so imposes its form upon art. Not but what Eros was worshipped

[1] *Theogony*, 116. For the other traditions, see the scholiast on *Apoll. Rhod.*, iii., 26.

[2] De Witte, *Acad. Inscr.*, September, 1879.

in Greece in the earliest times; at Thespiæ, where he was represented by an uncarved stone, he received the most solemn honours; the feast of the Erotidia was held to do him reverence, and he was held in like honour at Sparta. But the divinity worshipped under the name of Eros was the mysterious impulse which brings about the union of living beings and ensures the continuance of life, rather than the light and sensuous love-god of later days.

Fig. 60.—Eros (terra-cotta).

Such ideas as these were familiar to the common people; the echo of them is to be found in the magnificent language of the tragic poet Sophocles, and Aristophanes also alludes to them in the parabasis of the *Birds*. But it was not from them that art drew its inspiration. The Eros of art is not the Cosmogonic Eros of Hesiod and the Orphics, but the companion of Aphrodite, the winged god, personifying the power of Love over the heart of man. This conception arises in poetry in early times. Even Hesiod introduces Aphrodite accompanied by Eros and Himeros, the latter also typifying desire. In the sixth century, lyrical poetry invests Eros with an allegorical character, and bestows on him the bow and the torch, with which he inflicts cruel wounds. Sappho laments that Eros, come down from heaven

in chlamys of purple dye, has pierced her heart,[1] and in the charming lyrics of Anacreon Eros is described as "a young child, with wings, bow, and quiver." Lyrical poetry developed the theme of which art made use; the origin of the type of Eros in art is

Fig. 61.—Eros and Aphrodite in chariot (terra-cotta).

to be sought only in the freedom of the poet's imagination.

This being so, it follows that Eros was not a common subject in archaic art. No really archaic representations have come down to us, and it is not till the fifth century that he begins to appear in monuments

[1] *Fragments*, 64, 42, 74, etc.

treated in the severe style. Of this kind are some engraved plaques of terra-cotta, where the young god, naked and wearing long, strong wings upon his shoulders, stands beside Aphrodite on a chariot drawn by gryphons[1] (fig. 61). On another plaque, now at Munich, he is represented near his mother, with a lyre in his hand. On a third he appears as a sort of attribute, poised on his mother's arm. On the eastern frieze of the Parthenon, Eros, a slender boy, stands near his mother, Aphrodite, and looks on at the Panathenaic procession; and a similar group is represented on some Sicilian coins of Eryx, the style of which brings them to about the fifth century.[2] In the artistic tradition of this period, Eros is not separated from the goddess, of whom he seems to be in some sort an emanation. He flutters round her, with his companion, Himeros, in some small bronze groups serving as supports to mirrors, now in the British Museum; while the statuette of the goddess forms the handle of the mirror, the two winged figures support the oval.[3] Vase painters, during the period of fine red-figured vases of severe style, assign similar functions to Eros. Whether he is flying towards Aphrodite, carrying to her wreaths and fillets, or helping her at her toilette, Eros is the faithful servant of the goddess of Love. He personifies the irresistible charm which is the most formidable of Aphrodite's powers.

[1] Welcker, *Annali dell' Inst.*, 1830; O. Rayet, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, 1879, p. 329.

[2] *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 63, No. 13, and coins of Eryx in the Imhoof collection.

[3] See the design of one of these mirror handles, *Manuel d'Archéologie Grecque*, fig. 139.

According to the vigorous phrase of Archilochus, he is "desire that makes powerless the limbs of man," and the wings which he has in common with Eris, Phobos, and all the divinities that symbolise human passions, make his action swift and sure.

Till the fourth century, Eros is never represented alone. The new Attic school was the first to give him a more individual character, and to make of him a separate personage with a godhead of his own. Pausanias's account is the only record of the group of the three Loves—Eros, Pothos, and Himeros—executed by Scopas for the temple of Aphrodite Praxis at Megara;[1] but the conception and treatment of Eros by Praxiteles is better known from a long list of celebrated statues. The Eros of Thespiæ was of Pentelic marble; set up beside the statues of Aphrodite and Phryne, it supplied lighter poetry with a subject for dainty comparisons, of which the poets of the Anthology were not slow to avail themselves.[2] The Centocelli torso in the Vatican is perhaps an echo of the manner of Praxiteles; the charming bent head, with the curly hair framing the delicate features, is just what might be expected to represent the idea of the Athenian artist. The Eros of Parium was naked and bore no arms; he held a dolphin and a flower, symbols, according to an epigram in the Anthology, of the power of Love on land and sea. A very probable copy of this Parium statue exists in a charming statuette of Eros in the possession of the Princess of Wales.[3]

[1] Pausanias, i., 43, 6. [2] *Anthol. Planud.*, iv. 205.

[3] Gardner, P., "A Statuette of Eros," *Journal Hell. Soc.*, iv., 266, where the whole subject is discussed.

A third statue of the youthful god was made by Praxiteles, and is described at great length by Callistratus,[1] who praises the charm of the smile, the graceful arrangement of the hair, and the lifelike appearance of the bronze. The Greek writer gives a sufficiently accurate description of the attitude of the statue to make it tempting to recognise a possible replica in the winged Eros of the museum at Dresden; the god has one hand uplifted, while he grasps his bow in the other. Praxiteles represented Eros with the undeveloped figure of Adolescence; he conceived him, as Callistratus says, as a young boy "in the flower of life." This plastic type, the happy creation of the great Athenian sculptor, was very popular with his successors. Lysippus no doubt adopted the new tradition in his statue of the Eros of Thespiæ. Numerous marble statues in modern museums represent the god as a youth. Sometimes he is stretching his bow, as in several statues, such, for instance, as those in the Capitol, the Villa Albani, the Vatican (fig. 62), and the British Museum. Sometimes he is letting fly an arrow, as in a statue belonging to the Giustiniani collection.

Vase painters, using the licence which belongs to their art, introduce Eros into many different scenes. Some are mythological in character, and represent the young god in conjunction with Aphrodite, according to the old tradition, either bringing her the alabaster casket of scent, or fluttering round her. Sometimes he intervenes in the love affairs of heroes or gods, and leads Herakles to Hebe, or helps in the rape of Europa. The part he plays is a simple one; he personifies the

[1] Callistratus, *Stat*, 3; cf. Michælis, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1879, p. 175.

Fig. 62.— Eros with bow (Vatican).

passions of the actors in the scene. From these scenes

it is an easy transition to represent him mingling in scenes of every-day life. In the elegant paintings on vases of the purest style Eros has become a sort of familiar spirit, sharing in the life of men. The reader has already seen how wonderfully the Greek genius succeeds in clothing in defined shape the vaguest and least defined of feelings; so in art Eros is the typified

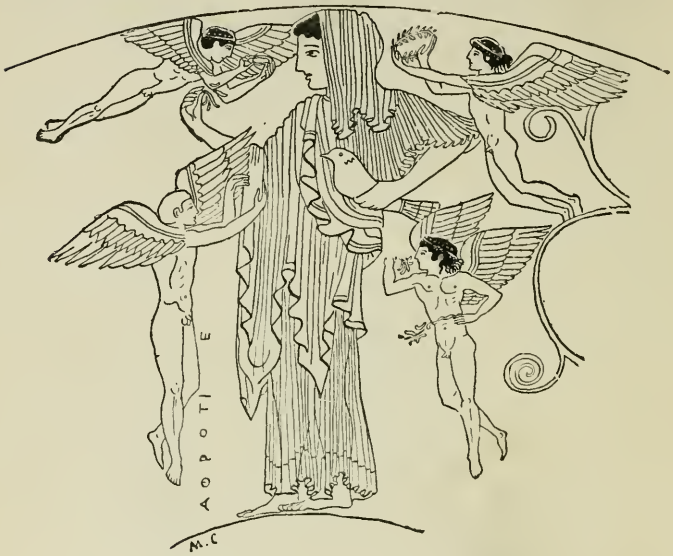

Fig. 63.—Aphrodite with Erotes, cylix by Hieron (Berlin).

embodiment of fleeting and passing desire. On a fine vase in the Museum of Athens, representing a marriage scene,[1] it is Eros who flies between the lovers, playing on the double flute. Further, to represent the finest shades of feeling one Eros is not enough, and a whole tribe of tiny winged folk flit across the background in

[1] *Catalogue of the Museum of Athens*, No. 500.

ceramic art. Not only are the Loves multiplied around

Fig. 64.—Erotes (Louvre).

Aphrodite, as in the fine cylix of Hieron (fig. 63), of which a fragment is given here, but they are introduced

into scenes which are not mythological in character. Thus in the women's apartment there appear winged figures carrying to the young women ornaments, flowers, and jewels; elsewhere they play on the flute or the cymbals. In fact, they are so many little familiar spirits, personifying the vague instincts of coquetry or the sweet leisure of domestic life. At the same time, art delights in giving them the form of children. Among the Tanagra terra-cottas in the Louvre are a series of little Loves[1] (fig. 64), of the most delicate and fanciful workmanship; some are dancing; others, wrapped in short mantles, seem to be playing at being sulky; another bites the end of his finger with the malicious glance which Moschus attributes to Eros in his charming poem on Fugitive Love. These Loves are the brothers of the little genii whom Alexandrine art introduces into scenes of gallantry, and who appear in the Pompeian paintings[2] surrounding the wounded Adonis, or bearing love messages to the heroines of mythology. They belong to the same family as the winged children whom the Vendor of Loves keeps shut in a cage, or as those who, busy with the occupations of daily life, are to be seen eagerly mixing the dough or crushing the grape, in those purely decorative scenes of which the painters of the villas of Campania are so lavish. It is not easy to give a name to these genii; it would be wholly misleading to attribute to them any mythological meaning. If we would avoid falling into the error of

[1] Published by M. O. Rayet, in the *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, 2nd edition.

[2] For the Erotes of Pompeian paintings, see *Myths of the Odyssey*, J. E. Harrison, p. 41, pl. xv., xvi.

false symbolism, we must be content to leave the character of these little, laughing, gay folk altogether undetermined, and not ask fancy the explanation of her lightest whims, whose whole charm vanishes with dissection.

The reader will not need to be reminded of the influence of literature upon the representation in art of Eros and the cycle connected with Eros. Love is the hero of a large number of Alexandrine epigrams;[1] the erotic poets, like Meleager, Posidippus, and Maikios, dilate on the theme of the soul exposed to the onslaught of passion, and abandoned to combats from which it issues forth now vanquished, now victorious. Artists, for their part, find in the same subject suggestions for graceful compositions which make up a whole illustrated manual of the psychology of Love. Gem engravers show an infinite fertility of invention in little scenes composing a series of small dramas, where the principal parts are played by Love and the Soul. Sometimes they represent Eros tormenting Psyche, the soul (fig. 65), in the guise of a little girl with the wings of a butterfly. Elsewhere Psyche is victorious, and lays chains on Eros; or, as in the Alexandrine cameo, ascribed to Tryphon, Eros and Psyche are united in marriage. The union of Eros and Psyche, after trials

Fig. 65.—Eros torturing Psyche (gem).

[1] See A. Couat, *La Poesie Alexandrine*, p. 174 and foll.

and sufferings, is also represented in sculpture; among other monuments is the famous group of the Capitol, where the lovers hold one another in close embrace. When scenes of this sort have been popularised by art, they are easily used to represent in plastic form the Platonic myth of the fallen soul, who passes through a series of trials as a means of purification, and is at last re-united for ever with Love Everlasting. This is the origin, at least in its later aspects, of the myth of

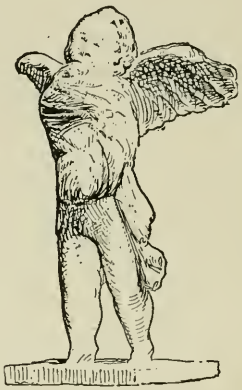

Fig. 66.—Eros (terra-cotta).

Psyche, which was widely popular during the days of the Roman Empire, as is proved by the charming story of Apuleius. The group of the two lovers, carved on Roman sarcophagi, alludes to ideas respecting a second birth, a future life, and eternal happiness.[1]

It is another form of mystic symbolism which assigns a share in funeral rites to Eros. Greek art, in its decline, had represented an Eros of the tomb, holding

[1] See M. Max Collignon, *Essai sur le Mythe de Psyché*, 1877,

the goddess who guards the hearth. The attitude which suits her is that of repose, for, as Plato says, "Hestia alone stays at rest in the house of the gods."[1] The artist sometimes expresses this by giving the goddess the form of a herm. A marble in the Casino Rospigliosi at Rome shows her enclosed as far as to the breast in a rectangular sheath, with her head veiled. The images of Hestia that were in the Prytaneum at Athens, at Olympia, and at Paros, are known only by description; but the Torlonia Museum, at Rome, has a statue[2] (fig. 70) which shows the fashion in which art at the best period conceived the type of the daughter of Kronos. The goddess is stand-

Fig. 70.—Hestia (Torlonia Museum).

[1] Plato, *Phædrus*, 247A.

[2] Formerly in the Giustiniani gallery.

ing, clad in the double Dorian chiton, which falls in stiff folds to her feet; a veil covers her head and shoulders. In her left hand was a sceptre, in sign of the rank she held among the Olympians as elder sister of Zeus and Hera. The expression of the face is calm, with a touch of severity suited to the virgin goddess who guards the hearth. Important inferences can be drawn from this statue; and its probable date, that of the fifth century B.C., increases their value. The statue has, with some probability, been thought to be a work entirely Greek in character, belonging to a Peloponnesian school, perhaps to that of Argos or Sicyon. If this is so, the evidence of this monument would show how the same Greek school which determined the type of Hera represented also the most revered of the maiden goddesses of Olympus.

CHAPTER X.

THE SECONDARY GODS.

§ 1. Iris, Hebe, the Horai, and the Charites.

J. Krause, *Die Musen, Grazien, Horen, und Nymphen*, 1871; Kekulé, *Hebe: eine Archæologische Abhandlung*, 1867; C. Robert, *De Gratiis Atticis*, Comment. in hon., Th. Mommsen.

Beside the gods of Olympus are the secondary divinities who make up their train. Some of these, as messengers, carry their orders in swift flight, or, careful to wait upon them, prepare the feasts of the Immortals gathered around Zeus; others charm the leisure moments of the lives of the gods with dance and song. Their artistic representation is produced by the same imagination which created the figure of Eros; the Greek genius loves to give a form to these creatures of the fancy, and to invest them with every feminine grace.

This is not the place to trace out in detail the history of the development of secondary figures, such as Iris or Hebe; they follow the general lines of the advance of art already indicated. Vase-paintings in particular, where these deities are constantly introduced into scenes representing the gods assembled in Olympus, show the perpetually increasing subtlety of feeling with which they are treated. Symbolism is only used with discrimination, so as to distinguish them by delicate gradations. In art, Iris, the messenger of the gods, and sometimes personification of the rainbow, is a young girl with

wings, clad in the Greek chiton, and bearing the caduceus, like Hermes. An example may be seen in a vase-painting, where she tells Achilles of the death of Patroclus. The most beautiful representation we have of Iris is undoubtedly the figure of her as she stands by the side of Hera, on the east end of the Parthenon frieze, the head of which has been recently discovered[1] in the excavations in the Acropolis. She stands there simply as attendant, not messenger, and with her left hand gracefully collects her flowing hair into a knot behind her head. Hebe appears more frequently. Like Iris she, too, is a young girl, but she is distinguished from Iris by the absence of wings, and by the œnochoë which she holds in her hand (fig. 71). It is Hebe who discharges the office of cupbearer to the assembled gods, and who pours out the nectar for the Olympians. In the works of sculpture she is associated with the great gods. Praxiteles represented her at Mantinea, and her statue was placed

Fig. 71.—Hebe (vase-painting).

[1] C. Waldstein, "Newly-discovered Head of Iris," *American Journal of Archæology*, March, 1889.

between those of Athena and Hera. Hebe also plays a part in the legend of Herakles. As goddess of eternal youth, it is she who presents to the hero, on his entrance into Olympus, the cup of nectar which gives him immortality. According to the later tradition, she became the wife of the hero; a large krater bowl in the Berlin Museum represents this divine marriage, which also furnishes Etruscan artists with decorative subjects for incised mirrors.

The Horai, or Seasons, are, in the mythology of Homer, "the guardians of the gates of heaven." But it was not long before they assumed a more complex character. Originally they were two, but the number was increased to three: Dike, Eirene, and Eunomia. Goddesses of the spring, they preside over the regular recurrence of fair weather, and the renewal of nature. Clad in "flowered robes, and wet with dew," they join the Charites in the dance. Their attributes allude to their functions as gracious and beneficent goddesses. On a relief of the altar of the twelve gods in the Louvre, they appear wearing the epomis, or Dorian chiton, and carrying grapes, ears of corn, or flowering branches.

The Charites, or Graces, daughters of Zeus and Eurynome, belong to the same group as the Horai, and are often confused with them by the artist in scenes entirely decorative in character, where elegance is sought rather than mythological accuracy. As an instance may be mentioned the fine Attic vase, with gilt reliefs, where one of the Charites and one of the

[1] *Orphica*, 42 and following.

Horai appear together in a sacrificial scene.[1] Like the Horai, the Charites are gracious goddesses, in the strict sense of givers of all grace and increase to nature and to man.[2] They are closely allied to the Eumenides, with whom they were worshipped.

Fig. 72.—Three Charites, bas-relief (Vatican).

But later, a more specialized function was developed, that of imparting *grace* in the modern sense, *i.e.*, all those qualities which attract and charm. Archaic

[1] See the article by M. Max. Collignon on "Trois Vases Peints à Ornements Dorés," *Rev. Arch.*, 1875.

[2] At Sparta there were only two Charites, Kleta and Phaenna (Pausanias, ix., 35).

art naïvely represents this by giving them musical instruments as attributes. Tektaios and Angelion represented the Charites in a group placed on the palm of the colossal Apollo of Delos; there they held the double flute, the lyre, and the pipe. Monuments of the severe style always represent them completely draped, as they appear, for instance, on the bas-reliefs of the altar of the twelve gods, and on the bas-reliefs of Thasos, where Hermes is followed by one of the Charites. The earliest extant monument representing the Charites is a slab, of which there are several replicas, the best preserved of which is given in fig. 72, in the Vatican. Two other similar slabs are now—in very damaged condition, the upper part entirely broken away—in the Acropolis Museum at Athens. The heavily draped female figures move hand in hand to the left, as though dancing. These bas-reliefs have been shown by Dr. Benndorf[1] to be, in all probability, copies of the famous group of the Charites which stood in or near the Propylæa at Athens, and which tradition attributed, no doubt erroneously, to the philosopher Socrates. A similar type appears on Athenian coins, and on a lead token.[2]

Later art represented the Charites altogether undraped, but Pausanias did not know the name of the artist who ventured on so bold an innovation.[3] By

[1] "Die Chariten des Sokrates," *Arch. Zeit.*, 1869.

[2] Since the above was printed an archaic relief of great interest has been discovered on the Acropolis at Athens, representing the three Charites dancing to the music made by Hermes, who precedes them. The last Charis holds by the hand a diminutive figure, who is probably a worshipper initiated into the sacred dance.

[3] Pausanius, ix., 35, 7.

analogy with the alteration in the type in art of Aphrodite, it would seem likely that the influence of Praxiteles had something to do with the step. A large number of monuments of later style, such as bas-reliefs, statues, and gems, represent the Charites naked, and with arms interlaced in the attitude so common among the carvers and metal-workers of the Renaissance. They are so represented in a group now at Siena, which deserves special mention, as it was copied by Raphael, and gave him his first insight into classical art.[1] The degradation of the art type aptly embodies the weakening and degradation of idea; the fair but reverent dancers, holy and decent, fitly represented the ancient agrarian Charites, goddesses of increase, whose religious dance was a solemn charm to waken the slumbering ground. The naked posturing girls of Siena are good enough as impersonations of those lighter Graces whose mission was but to stir the senses.

§ 2. The Muses.

P. Decharme, *Les Muses*;[2] Oberg, *Musarum Typi Monumentis Veteribus Expressi* (Berlin, 1873); O. Bie, *Die Musen in der Antiken Kunst*.

In the Homeric poems the number of Muses is not determined; at that time the daughters of Zeus, whose function it is to charm the Immortals with their songs, had no individuality. It is not till the Theogony of Hesiod that they appear as nine in number, and bear

[1] The drawing is preserved in the Académie des Beaux-Arts of Venice. See E. Müntz, *Raphael*, p. 95.

[2] See also the chapter on the Muses in the *Mythologie de la Grèce Antique*, by M. Decharme.

the names henceforth familiar: Clio, Euterpe, Thalia, Melpomene, Terpsichore, Erato, Polymnia, Urania, and Calliope. In Greek art during the early centuries, as in literature, the Muses are not differentiated. The Pierian goddesses, daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne, patrons of the bard, on whom they breathed poetic inspiration, are for a long period represented in art as forming a sort of musical choir; no one of them is distinguished from the rest by any special attribute. On a vase-painting of the older style, the François vase, the Muses, who are present at the wedding of Thetis and Peleus, are inscribed with their names; and this arrangement is necessary that these women figures, otherwise undistinguishable, should be recognized as Muses. The artists of that period do not bind themselves to the number nine, which indeed was not observed in all local traditions. The number, for instance, was three in a group, made by the archaic masters, Ageladas, Kanachos, and Aristokles, and described in an epigram: "We are the three Muses; one of us has the double flute, one the lute, and one the lyre."[1] To judge from two statues at Venice, which are clearly late imitations of archaic work,[2] the older Greek artists always gave to the Muses a type like that of the Charites; their hair falls in long locks, they wear the long straight Dorian costume, with its stiff and regular folds. Red-figured vases represent

[1] *Anthol. Gr.*, ii., 15, 35.

[2] M. Guédonoff (*Annali*, xxiv.) thinks these may have been imitations of the group made by Ageladas and his collaborators. Two other statues ought to be compared with them; one is at Mantua (*Annali*, ibid., *tav.* D.), and the other at St. Petersburg (ibid., *tav.* C.)

them sometimes alone, sometimes led by Apollo Musagetes, according to an old story, which appears in the very earliest Greek forensic art. On the chest of Cypselus, in the eighth century, the Muses are grouped around Apollo, "a gracious choir, led by him." They are so grouped also on an Athenian pyxis,[1] of which a fragment is shown in fig. 73; but the artist has taken so little pains to distinguish them by attributes that they can only be identified by conjecture; they are like Athenian women in the scenes representing every-day life, and may be merely such. Generally speaking, in Greek art anterior to the second century B.C., the Muses are represented wearing the Dorian chiton, or the wide-sleeved Ionian chiton, made of fine pleated stuff, and half covered by an ample himation. They have no other attributes than musical instruments, such as lute, flute, and rolls of music, and even these are not assigned accurately to the individual Muses. Clio sometimes holds Euterpe's flutes, and occasionally in vase-paintings the Muses hold in their hands wreaths of flowers, or jewel caskets, which have no connection with their ordinary occupation.

It is not till the Alexandrine period that the attributes of the several Muses were fixed almost inalterably. Besides musical instruments other emblems were introduced, such as stage masks, as well as writing-tablets, the stylus, globe, compasses, the case of rolls, and other objects alluding to the arts and sciences. Possibly this differentiation of attributes took place through the influence of the Museum of Alexandria;

[1] See article by M. Max. Collignon on "Apollon et les Muses," *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux*, i.

Fig. 73.—Apollo and Muses (vase-painting).

at any rate, in the paintings of Herculaneum and Pompeii, the style of which is undeniably Alexandrine, the Muses have special attributes, and each of them is designated, not only by her name, but also by that of the department of literature, art, or science which she represents.[1] This division of attributes is invariable in the monuments of the Roman period, as an instance of which the reader may be referred to the marble table of Archelaus of Priena, known as the Apotheosis of Homer, in the British Museum; there are also the statues in the Berlin Museum, in the Vatican (fig. 74), the bas-reliefs of the pedestal of a statue from Halicarnassus,[2] and reliefs on Roman sarcophagi.[3] Clio, the Muse of History, holds a roll of manuscript, and a pen; Euterpe has the double flute; Thalia, the Muse of Comedy, carries the shepherd's pedum in the form of a crooked stick, and the comic mask; she wears the woollen tunic. Melpomene, the Muse of Tragedy, holds the tragic mask and the club of Herakles. The lyre belongs to Terpsichore, who presides over the dance, but is also the attribute of Erato, the goddess of erotic poetry. Polymnia, the Muse of Heroic Poetry, stands in meditative pose, wrapped in the folds of her mantle. Urania holds the celestial globe (fig. 74), and the *radius* or compass. Calliope, Muse of Epic Poetry and Eloquence, has as her attributes the stylus and the writing tablets.

[1] Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, etc., 858, 859, 866, 867, 868, 871, 878, 887.

[2] Trendelenburg, *Der Musenchor: Relief einer Marmorbasis aus Halikarnass.*

[3] See the one in the Louvre, and read Fröhner, *Sculpture Antique du Louvre*, No. 378

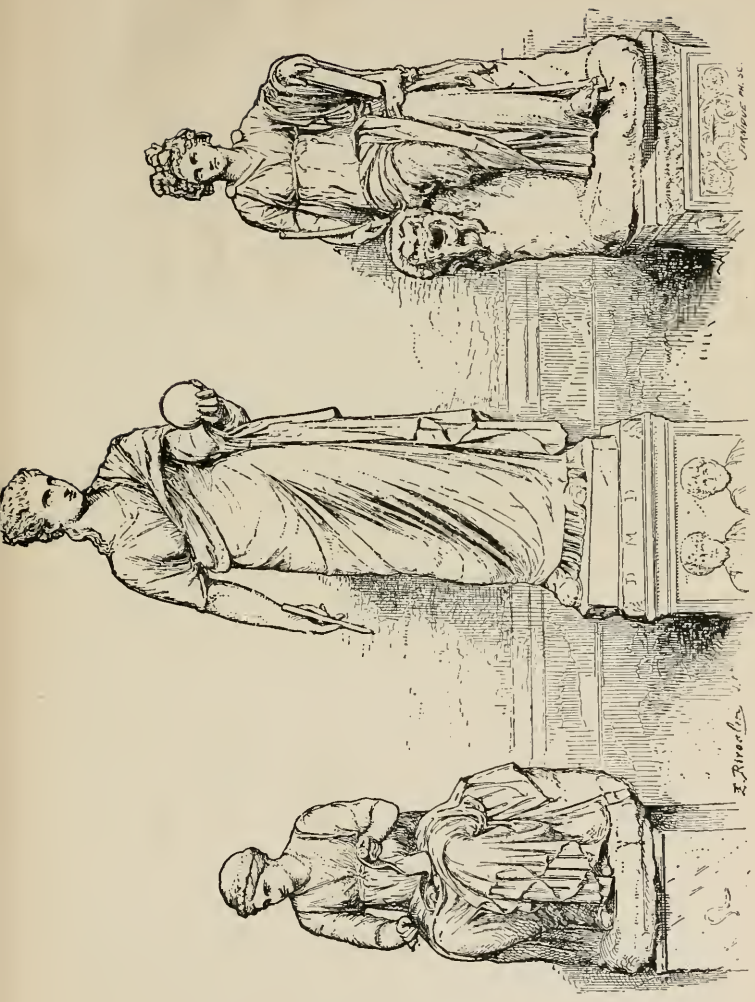

Fig. 74.—Muses: Clio, Ourania, Thalia (Vatican).

§ 3. The Gods of the Heavenly Bodies.

Gerhard, "Lichtgottheiten," in the *Akad. Abhandlungen.*

Among the principal gods of Olympus, Apollo and Artemis, as has been seen, are primarily the personification of the two great lights of the heavens. But it is not surprising to find that there are other divinities derived from the same mythological source. Whereas the moral element eventually prevailed in the Greek conception of Apollo and Artemis, Helios and Selene personify the physical action of the sun and the moon, and in conjunction with Eos or Aurora, the Dawn, make up the most important group of the star gods.

Eos is the sister of Helios, the sun. She it is who in Greek poetry announces the glorious uprising of her brother. This conception was seized on by the artist, and often represented, especially in the later periods. Paintings on Italo-Greek vases show Aurora, herself on a chariot preceding the four-horse chariot of the sun; before her flies Lucifer, the morning star.[1] Vase painters, also, represent her as a winged woman; on a vase in the Berlin Museum she wears a fine pleated tunic and a mantle, spreads out her wide wings, and guides the "winged white coursers of the Dawn." Sometimes leaving her car, she flies in the air holding two hydrias, whence she showers dew upon the earth[2] (fig. 74).

[1] On a painting, decorating the handle of a vase by Canosa, in the Munich Museum (Pinacothek).

[2] The chief myths, often represented on vases in which Eos appears, are, her loves with Cephalus, and her share in the legend of her son Memnon, killed by Achilles; several vase-paintings show her carrying away the corpse of Memnon.

With Helios day appears in all its glory. Poetry gives to the sun god a team of white horses, fiery and swift; they carry him over the heavens in the daily course he makes from east to west. But Helios for all that is only a secondary divinity, and never repre-

Fig. 75.—Eos with Hydrias.

sented alone in Greek art of the best period. He appears in large scenes of sculpture, as an accessory, as a note of cosmical circumstance; thus, on the eastern pediment of the Parthenon he is seen driving his chariot and rising from the wave, to give light

to the marvellous scene of the birth of Athena. On the base of the throne of the Olympian Zeus, Helios and Selene were among the crowd of gods who surrounded the lord of Olympus.[1] But it is particularly at Rhodes that the representations of the sun god reach their greatest development. Helios was the chief local god, and looked on by the Rhodians as the father of their race; Chares of Lindos made for them a colossal statue of the sun, the description of which has been preserved in Philo of Byzantium.[2] Rhodian coins show Helios beardless, with thick and flowing hair, surrounded by a crown of rays. This type flourished throughout the whole period of classical art, and appears on vase-paintings, and on the metope found at New Ilium, reproduced in fig. 76.

Selene, or Mênê, the personification of the moon, is also, according to the maker of myths, a sister of Helios. Poets describe the charming appearance of the goddess, her brow bound with a golden crown, "whose rays shine afar when, in the middle of the month, at even, Selene, after bathing her fair body in the Ocean, puts on gorgeous raiment, and harnessing her glowing steeds urges them swiftly on."[3] In art Selene appears as a young woman seated upon a horse, as is known from vase-paintings and coins; such, for instance, as those of Pheres and Patræ. Seated upon her horse, she also appears in the right hand angle of the east pediment of the Parthenon. Unhappily

[1] Pausanias, v., 11, 3.

[2] *De Septem Miraculis Mundi*, p. 14, ed. Orelli. See Otto Lüder's *Der Koloss von Rhodos*, 1865.

[3] *Homeric Hymn*, xxxii.

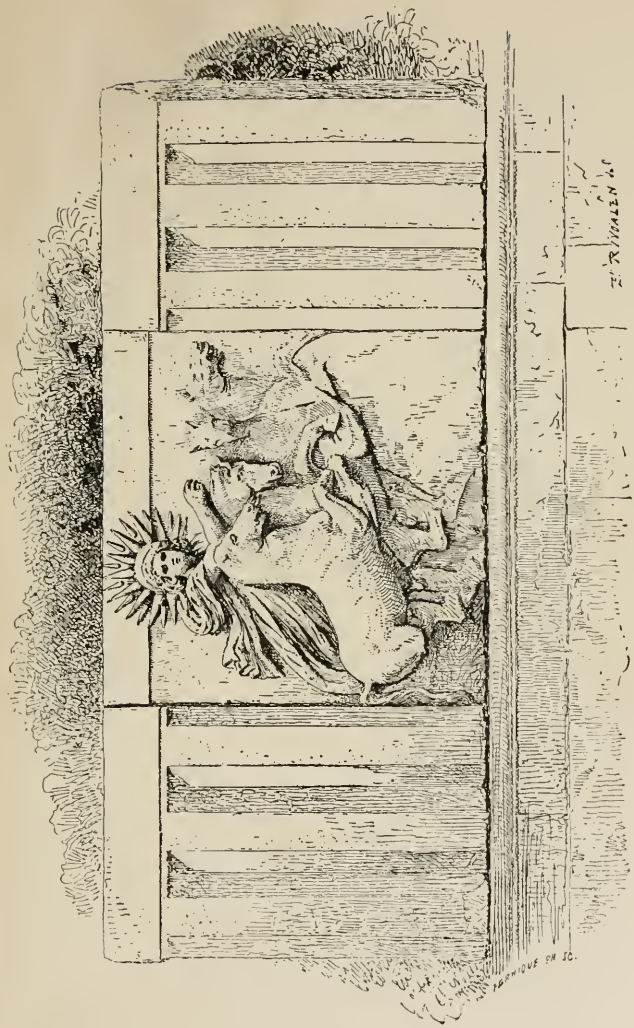

Fig. 76.—Helios (metope from Ilium).

nothing but a torso is left. For a more complete

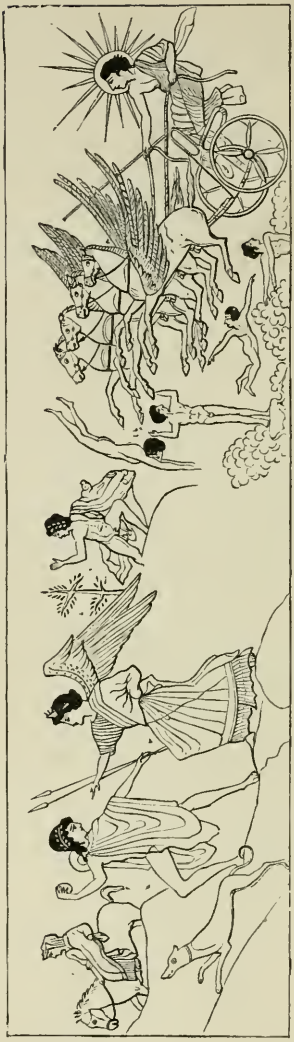

Fig. 77.—Sunrise, Blacas crater (British Museum).

representation the student may be referred to the figure of Selene riding in the frieze from the altar of Pergamos.

The art types of gods who personify the heavenly bodies are very simple, and being, as they are, mostly late conceptions, they admit of little development or modification. Greek art would seem to have reserved all its powers of analysis and invention for the gods whose more complex moral nature required greater variety of expression. Eos, Helios, and Selene, though they take on certain human characters—Eos, especially, becomes mother of Memnon and lover of Kephalos—yet they remain, in substance, mere impersonations of physical phenomena. At a time when art delighted in fanciful and suggestive subjects, the divinities of

dawn, day, and night, are often grouped together in one picture. On a crater (fig. 77) of the Blacas collection in the British Museum, the scene of sunrise, with all its cosmic accessories, is very fully represented. To the right, Helios rises in his four-horse chariot from the sea. The representation is half naturalistic, half personal, for behind the head is the rayed disk of the actual sun. Four naked boys plunge into the sea in front of the chariot: they are the stars who set at the rising of the sun. Next, behind the mountain, indicated by a line, Pan starts up to greet the dawn. The winged goddess Aurora pursues, as was her wont, the hunter Kephalos, and the scene closes with the quiet figure of the veiled and mounted moon riding away.

§ 4. The Gods of Storm and Wind.

The physical phenomena of the heavens, and the atmospheric disturbances they cause, also suggested to the Greek mind poetic conceptions, which were often expressed in art. But the violent unloosing of the blind forces of nature aroused chiefly ideas of terror; for poets as for artists, the spirits of storm and tempest were monstrous beings, in whom human faces were joined to the shapes of animals. Typhon, the spirit of the whirlwind, is "a terrible god. . . . From his shoulders rise a hundred heads of snakes and horrible dragons, whose fearful mouths dart forth black tongues."[1] He appears in art, as in the recently-discovered archaic pediment from the Acropolis at Athens, as a three-headed monster, with snake tail;

[1] Hesiod, *Theogony*, 823 and foll.

so also he appears on an archaic vase-painting. The Chimera, his daughter, has a repulsive body, consisting of limbs borrowed from the lion, the goat, and the dragon. The Harpies, also storm goddesses, are monsters, half woman and half bird.

All the artistic representations of these evil spirits cannot be treated in detail here. But it may be noticed that Greek art seems originally to have borrowed them from the fantastic monsters engendered by the morbid

Fig. 78.—Boreas pursuing Oreithyia (vase-painting).

imagination of the East. The process is seen very clearly in the case of Boreas, who personifies the violence of the north wind. In archaic art Boreas is one of the monstrous figures dear to the early artist, when the influence of Assyria is still plainly felt.[1] On the chest of Cypselus, his legs end in serpents' tails. Soon, however, the human shape begins to prevail, and on certain vases of Corinthian style, Boreas, or some

[1] See the dissertation of Herr Langbehn, *Flugelgestalten der alt or. Kunst* (Munich, 1881).

analogous deity, appears as a bearded man, with wings folded back; his legs are bent, as if he were kneeling; this was the position by which, in archaic art, it was usual to represent swiftness of motion. In later art the type is further purified, and Boreas is represented as a man in the vigour of life; his long, bird-like wings recall his swiftness, just as the wings of Eros are the visible sign of the fleeting nature of passion. Several vase-paintings (see fig. 78) show the rape of Oreithyia by Boreas, but none can compare for purity of style with the fine œnochoë in the Louvre, published by M. G. Perrot.[1] The type in art of the spirits of the winds is early fixed, and underwent no sensible alteration. Not to leave Greece, an example may be found at Athens in the sculptures decorating the octagonal tower built under Sulla by Andronicus Cyrrhestes. All round this monument, which contained a water clock, run low reliefs representing the winds in the shape of winged spirits, clad in short tunics. Their dress and attributes are characteristic of the various winds.

[1] *Monuments Grecs*, published by the Association des Études Grecques. 1874.

BOOK II.

THE GODS OF THE WATERS.

CHAPTER I.

THE GODS OF THE SEA.

Just as the phenomena of the heavens produced in the Greek mind a rich development of myths, so no less did the various aspects of the sea act upon their lively imagination. A sailor people, they were in ceaseless relations with the sea. It was the sea which enabled their civilization to develope; it was from the sea that in the young days of art, the early workers borrowed their first designs; the potters of Ialysos and the goldsmiths of Mycenæ reproduce on vases or jewels, jelly fish, octopuses, and other sea creatures. The marvellous faculty of transforming natural forces into divine beings early found scope among the Greeks, in the presence of the spectacle of the infinite variety of the sea. The brilliant colouring of the sea in the East, under the glowing light, the changing hues, the capricious changes of surface, even the white foam of its waves, were all so many manifestations of the divine nature. This is not the place to discuss the question whether the myths of the sea are proper to the Greek

mind, or whether they show traces of having been borrowed from foreign mythologies. It is enough to study the plastic forms in which art embodied the poetic and religious conceptions which were suggested to the Greeks by the contemplation of the sea.

§ 1. Gods Personifying the Sea.

Heydemann, *Nereiden mit den Waffen des Achill* (Halle, 1879); J. Martha, *Sepulcrales Nereidum Figuræ*, 1881; E. Vinet, "Mythe de Glaucus et de Scylla," *Annali dell' Inst.*, 1843; Gædechens, *Glaukos, der Meergott*, 1859.

When the Greek artists, especially the vase-painters, represent the sea itself, it is usually by means of sea creatures scattered over the ground of the painting.[1] But this epitomized representation expresses, so to speak, only the material presence of the sea, regarded as an element; art has richer resources at command, to render in vivid imagery the forms in which poetry clothes the sea gods; therein it is guided by the analytic faculty which has turned the various aspects of the sea into so many divine personalities.

The sea itself is sometimes personified by Nereus. Surrounded by his daughters the Nereides, he dwells below the waters in a cave lighted with silver light.[2] His type in art is borrowed from a combination of the human form and the fish, a mixture of natures which is not specially Greek. Chaldean art has a god half man, half fish: the god Anou or Dagon.[3] It is not impossible

[1] For instance, in the scenes representing Apollo Delphinios on the tripod, dolphins appear skimming over the surface of the waves.

[2] *Ἀργύφεον σπέος*, *Iliad*, xviii., 50.

[3] See G. Perrot, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, ii., p. 65, fig. 9.

that the earliest Greek artists may have been acquainted with Eastern models of a similar kind; witness the fish-tailed or snake-tailed creatures which decorate vases of the older style; witness again the coarsely executed bas-reliefs of the frieze from Assos, where a figure is struggling with a sea-monster with the upper part of a man.[1] Greek taste specially shows itself in the ingenuity with which the monstrosity of such combinations

Fig. 79.—Nereus (vase-painting).

is diminished. Generally, Nereus has the bust of a man[2] (fig. 79); but, starting from the rich tunic which covers his body, is a fish's tail, covered with scales. Sometimes the god holds a sceptre in his hand, as an

[1] Compare a female figure in a garment decorated with scales, and furnished with fins, on an Etruscan bronze at Munich, found at Perugia. O. Müller, *Denkmæler der alten Kunst*, i., 59. Cf. Brunn, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*, Nos. 32-8.

[2] Nereus is also often represented as entirely a man. Cf. Brunn *Bulletino dell' Inst.*, 1851, p. 69.

emblem of the power exercised by the "old man of the sea" over the creatures who inhabit the depths of ocean.

Around Nereus are grouped the "choir of the fifty Nereids who love to dance in a ring upon the shore."[1] Their mere names would suffice to explain their mythological character. Galene, Glauke, and Galatea represent the peaceful sea of a blue-green colour, or the whitish reflections of the surface; Kymodoke is the play of the wave breaking against the rock; Eulimene and Aktaie personify the sea lapping against the shore. To give such gracious maidens the hybrid shape which is appropriate to Nereus, would have been an absurdity; and in art the Nereides are always represented as young girls. It is so that they appear on vase-paintings on the sculptures of the Nereid monument at Xanthos,[2] and in all the scenes which show them escorting their sister Thetis, or bringing to Achilles the arms forged by Hephaistos. In the Alexandrine period decorative painting commonly conceives them half-naked, and gambolling on sea-horses. The idyll in which Theocritus brings upon the scene Polyphemus, the Cyclops, as the unhappy lover of the Nereid Galatea, provided the painters of the first century with a subject for graceful compositions. One of the pictures in Livia's house on the Palatine shows opposite the rejected Cyclops the laughing goddess, clad in light drapery, and riding a hippocampus, about whose chest bubbles the foaming wave.[3] Art could have found no

[1] Eur., *Iph. T.*, 427.

[2] Fellowes. The Xanthos marbles in *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor.*

[3] G. Perrot, *Les Peintures du Palatin, Mélanges d'Archéologie;* J. E. Harrison, *Myths of the Odyssey*, pl. 16, p. 39.

happier imagery to represent the meaning of the myth of Galatea. The love of the Cyclops for the Nereid symbolized to later philosophic fancy the vanity of desire and the deceiving charm of an element whose curving lines suggest the most consummate form of plastic beauty.

But while Nereus represents mainly the beneficence of the sea as a source of wealth for merchant peoples, its *changeableness* is symbolized in the person of Proteus, the god of many shapes who eludes his captor's grasp, and becomes in succession lion, dragon, tree, or panther. The same idea of the impossibility of holding the sea is embodied in the myth of Thetis, often figured on vases. To escape the wooing of Peleus, whom the gods would give her to husband, Thetis assumes a hundred various shapes; in the paintings representing the struggle, a lion and a snake attack Peleus, who is trying to seize the Nereid.

The infinite variety of feelings of all kinds aroused by the sight of the sea explains how the Greek imagination came to multiply the number of the marine gods, and popular belief, as well as local cults, helped on the work of differentiation. Thus, the sea-god Glaukos, a special favourite with the fishers of Anthedon, is "a god created by sailors, and summing up all the poetry of a seaman's life as it appears to the poor man."[1] He personifies the blue and green colouring of the sea, and on the few occasions when he appears in art,—for instance, in a painting of the Villa Hadriani, and in a mosaic from Carthage, he is represented with unkempt hair like sea-weed, and a beard ending in the fins of a

[1] E. Renan, *Études d'Histoire Religieuse*, p. 21.

fish.[1] A late legend makes him the despised lover of the fair sea maiden Scylla; but popular tradition, on the other hand, gives to Scylla the shape of a monster. In art (fig. 80) she has a woman's bust ending in a dolphin's tail, and this hideous form is girt round with a belt of dogs' heads. In her hands she holds pieces of rock and oars, weapons dreaded by the sailors who are the victims of her wrath. Legend, as is well known, placed her home in the Straits of Messina, but the myth of Scylla has a wide general bearing, and she is the personification of the strange creatures within the bosom of the sea, objects of terror to the sailor, or subjects for the marvellous tales which amuse the leisure moments of the seafarer.

§ 2. Poseidon (Neptune)—Amphitrite—The Train of Poseidon.

Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, iii., "Poseidon."

All such secondary spirits as these already mentioned are subject to the rule of the lord of the sea, Poseidon, "the great sea god who shakes the earth and the inexhaustible sea."[2] Early in art Poseidon appears as a distinct figure with a mythological character of his own. Though nothing very definite is known about the nature of the oldest images of Poseidon, he was represented at a very remote period upon the wall of the temple of Artemis Alpheionia, near Olympia, by an early painter, Cleanthes of Corinth. The god

[1] J. E. Harrison, *Myths of the Odyssey*, p. 183, "Scylla and Charybdis."

[2] *Homeric Hymn to Poseidon*, xxi.

held in his hand a thunny-fish, which he appeared to be offering to Zeus, before Athena was born.[1] The greater number of the archaic representations of Poseidon are known only from description; it is so

Fig. 80.—Scylla (vase-painting).

in the case of the bronze statue of Poseidon Hippios at Phenæa, said to have been dedicated by Ulysses; and again in that of the bas-reliefs of the temple of Athena Chalkioikos at Sparta, where he was repre-

[1] *Athenæus*, viii., 346.

sented beside Amphitrite. There is, in fact, no undoubtedly archaic statue or bas-relief extant by which the plastic type of Poseidon, during the period preceding the very end of the sixth century, might be determined. The student must go for information on this subject to vase-paintings and coins.

Fig. 81.—Poseidon, terra-cotta plaque (Louvre).

The mythological conceptions of Poseidon and Zeus are sufficiently alike for there to be points in common in their types in art. The reader may be reminded of the confused type of Zenoposeidon, a sort of sea Zeus, shown on some imperial coins of Mylasa, who holds both the eagle and the trident. On vases of the old style Poseidon is very similar to Zeus, completely draped, and wearing over the long chiton a richly embroidered himation; his long hair and beard are carefully combed, and his brow is often surrounded by a crown or a fillet. This also is the aspect he wears on some terra-cotta plaques, found near Corinth, and now in the Museums of Berlin and

of the Louvre (fig. 81); these votive tablets, dedicated in a sanctuary of the god himself, are not later than the sixth century. Sometimes, as in the instance here reproduced, the god is alone, holding a wreath, and his characteristic trident; sometimes he is on his chariot, and accompanied by Amphitrite.

Some coins of Posidonia (fig. 82) seem to reproduce a sculptural type, which must have prevailed during the archaic period. Poseidon is represented in the act of advancing, like Zeus Polieus on the Attic coins: almost naked, clad only in a chlamys thrown scarfwise over his arms, he brandishes the trident, the symbol of his power; he is the trident wielder (*τριαινοκράτωρ*), who rules over the sea.

Fig. 82.—Poseidon (coin of Poseidonia).

Archæologists are not agreed as to when and where the type of Poseidon first received in Greece that ideal character, which was thenceforward regarded as the highest expression of the god possible in plastic art. O. Müller ascribes the design to a Corinthian artist; and there is no doubt that the worship of Poseidon was held in special honour at Corinth. The Isthmus of Corinth was, according to the story of Herodotus, chosen by the Greeks as the site for the erection of a colossal statue of the god after the battle of Platæa. It is, however, difficult to believe that the Attic school had no hand in the formation of the standard type. Pheidias represented the sea-god on the base of the

[1] *Herod.*, ix., 81.

throne of Zeus at Olympia, and he appeared again on the Parthenon frieze. The dispute of Athena and Poseidon was the subject of the Western Pediment; the torso of the god is among the fragments that have been preserved, and the drawings of Carrey enable us to form some idea of the grand lines of the figure. It must at least be admitted that the school of Pheidias had formed an ideal conception of Poseidon, and this ideal was not sensibly modified in later times. At the same time it may be said that Poseidon does not often appear to have been represented as a single figure standing or seated, such as the Zeus of Olympia, or the Hera by Polycleitus. Scopas and Praxiteles represent him in a group, such, for instance, as that of the Twelve Gods. Little is known of the statue that Lysippus made for the Corinthians, and nothing justifies the inference that the sculptor of Sicyon made any very great innovation in the ideal type of the sea-god.

Existing monuments show several very distinctive features which serve to mark the difference between Poseidon and Zeus. A comparison of the bust of Poseidon in the Chiaramonti Museum of the Vatican, with the busts of Zeus, brings out the difference strongly. There is nothing like the same expression of serene power and gentleness which characterises the Ruler of Olympus; the features are more mobile, and the hair falling in straight stiff lines, as if it were wet, gives the finishing touch to the sterner aspect of the sea-god; he is the dark-haired god (*κυανοχαίτης*). Sculptors represent him with a large and well-knit figure. The epithet of wide-breasted (*εὐρύστερνος*), given to Poseidon, is fully justified by the magnificent

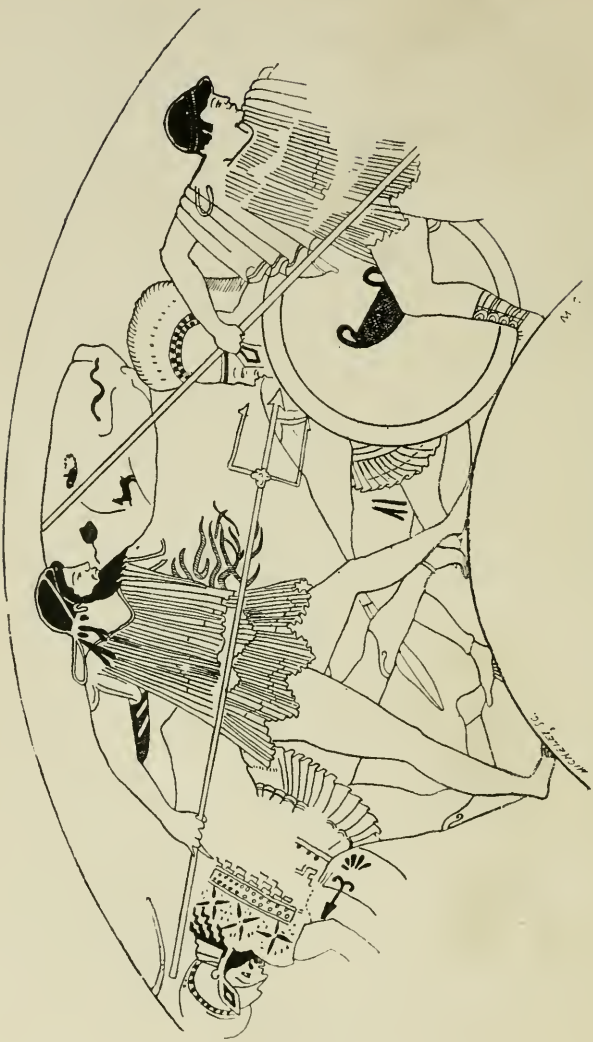

Fig. 83.—Poseidon in Gigantomachia, Beugnot cylix (Berlin).

torso of the Parthenon. But the strength of Poseidon is less serene than that of Zeus; it is the strength of the seaman always struggling with a fierce element.

Usually Poseidon is naked as he appears on several vases, and where the vase-painter represents him draped, he wears only a short pleated tunic, as in the scene from the Gigantomachia on the Beugnot cylix, in the Berlin Museum (fig. 83). In sculpture Poseidon sometimes, like Zeus, wears the himation draped over the lower part of the body, or thrown back across the shoulder; it is thus that he is draped in a colossal statue found at Madrid. But complete nudity is much more common, and would seem to be one of the characteristic signs of the god. A bronze in

Fig. 84.—Poseidon, bronze (Naples).

the Museum at Naples, found at Herculaneum (fig. 84), affords an illustration noteworthy from this point of view; the god, standing in an attitude of rest, leans upon his trident; this is his most common attitude. Artists are also fond of representing him with his foot placed on a rock or on the prow of a ship, as in the statues of the Lateran and the Villa Albani; sometimes his foot rests upon a dolphin. Looked at in this aspect, Poseidon is the god whose calm power prevails over the vast domain that pertains to him.

The trident and the dolphin are his usual attributes; they appear on the reverse of a coin of Messina, and the dolphin is frequently placed in the god's hand by vase-painters. The horse is another of his attributes. The reader will remember that Poseidon sometimes has the title of Hippios, and that legend says that he created the horse with a stroke of his trident. The association of the horse with Poseidon is specially common on coins, and alludes to the story of the creation of the horse; instances are to be found in the coins of Potidæa where Poseidon rides the horse; and in coins of Rhaukos, in Crete, where he stands beside it, holding it by the bridle. It is easy to see the connection established by the vivid imagination of the Greeks between the horse and the god of the sea. The curving outlines of the waves, their foamy crest and rapid movement, naturally suggest a likeness to certain forms of animal life; and the appearance of the waves in time of storm early called forth the conception of the impetuous team which drew Poseidon's chariot over the surface of the water. "The god put upon him his golden armour,

seized a gleaming whip, of rare workmanship, stepped upon his chariot, and drove it over the wave. Below him leapt the monsters, come forth in crowds from their hiding places to recognise their lord. The sea, overjoyed, opened to make a way before him. His horses sped on rapidly, and as they passed the wave did not make wet the brazen pole."[1]

Like the other gods Poseidon appears in the Gigantomachia, where he fights armed with the trident, and crushes the giants beneath fragments of rock covered with shells and sea beasts, and torn from the lowest deeps of the sea. But vase-painters are mainly interested in the story of his loves. One of the subjects treated by them is the pursuit of the Danaid Amymone, who flies before the god, holding a hydria in her hand. But in art, as in mythology, the usual companion of Poseidon is the Nereid Amphitrite, the feminine personification of the sea. Wife of Poseidon, she shares in his worship, and is constantly associated by artists with him. She was beside him in a group which decorated a temple of Poseidon at Corinth.[2] The sacred pair were seated upon a chariot drawn by four horses, and near them two golden Tritons. Sometimes Amphitrite appears without the god ; she is borne by a Triton, and holds the trident to distinguish her from the rest of the Nereids.

Poseidon and Amphitrite have their train. When the sea-god moves upon the waters, all round him there sports a whole world of mythological creations, who make up his noisy escort. First comes the choir of the Nereids, sometimes carrying musical instruments,

[1] *Iliad*, xiii., 23 and following. [2] Pausanias, ii., 1, 17.

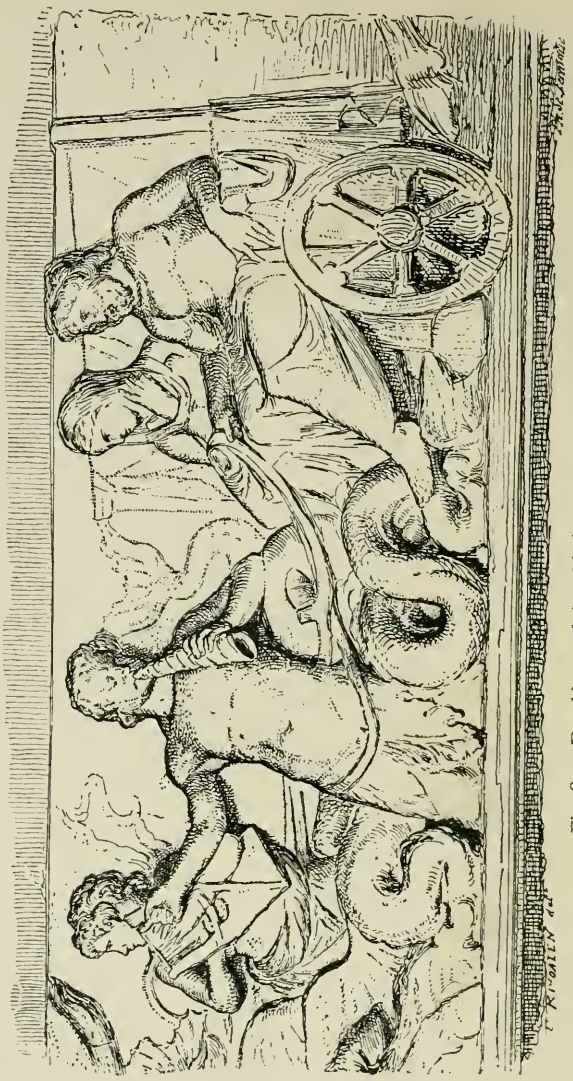

Fig. 85.—Poseidon and Amphitrite, frieze (Munich Glyptothek).

as on a fine sarcophagus in the Louvre, and in a Pompeian fresco.[1] Among these gracious goddesses are the Tritons equipped with sounding shells, and with bodies ending in fishes' tails; then come, in late days, the Centaurs of the sea, beating the water with their mighty fins, with their heads sometimes surmounted by lobsters' claws. To these must be added marine monsters, such as hippocampuses, dragons, bulls, and goats, whose shapes are combined with those of various sea creatures, original and powerful conceptions affording scope for the exercise of the brilliant imagination of the Greeks. A sculptor of the fourth century, Scopas, sought in the stories of the spirits of the sea a subject well suited to his impetuous and impassioned genius. He made for a city in Asia, possibly in Bithynia, a group representing Poseidon, Achilles, and Thetis, surrounded by the choir of the Nereids, and the marine demi-gods.[2] These statues were carried to Rome, and adorned the temple near the Flaminian Circus, built by Domitius Ahenobarbus. There was discovered in Rome a very fine frieze in relief, representing the marriage of Poseidon and Amphitrite, and now in the Glyptothek at Munich[3] (figs. 85, 86). The centre of the composition is occupied by the chariot of the two gods, which glides over the waves, driven by a young Triton blowing upon a shell. In front of the chariot is the Oceanid Doris, mother of Amphitrite, riding upon a

[1] Helbig, *Wandgemælde*, No. 1033.

[2] Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi., 26.

[3] Brunn, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*, No. 115. This bas-relief was formerly at Rome, in the Palazzo Santa-Croce.

Fig. 86.—Attendants of Poseidon, frieze (Munich Glyptothek).

hippocampus, and bearing the marriage torches. On either side of the central group winds the train of Tritons and Nereids, and among these fly Loves, guiding the bulls and sea dragons which serve as horses for the Nymphs of the sea. Urlichs[1] sees a close connection between this frieze and the group by Scopas. It is suggested that it is the work of the master himself, or at least of one of his pupils, and that it was taken from the same temple that provided the principal group. Without going into a discussion of details, it may be admitted that the architectural character of the frieze to some extent bears out the theory, but the style of the bas-relief and the presence of the pigmy love-gods point to a later date. There is no doubt that it was some Greek artist of a good period who designed the original of this masterly composition, arranged with consummate skill; some of the Nereid figures, half lying on the backs of the sea Centaurs or hippocampuses, and surrounded by the coils of their finny tails, are full of exquisite grace, and recall the happiest designs of the art of the fourth century B.C.

During the Roman period, the subject continued to be a favourite one for decorative compositions on a large scale. A Pompeian mosaic, found in 1869, reproduces a similar subject; and the train of Poseidon also appears in a great mosaic in the Louvre, found at Constantinople. But the overcrowded scene betrays Roman workmanship, and, impressive though the decorative effect may be, these mosaics will not bear comparison with the Munich frieze, as regards the elegance and harmony of the design.

[1] Urlichs, *Skopas*, p. 120.

CHAPTER II.

THE GODS OF FRESH WATERS.

§ 1. Rivers.

Percy Gardner, "Greek River-Worship," in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Literature, 1876; O. Schultz, *Die Ortsgottheiten in der Gr. and Röm. Kunst*, 1889. River-gods on coins: Head, *Historia Nummorum, passim.*

"O Cephisus, majestic stream, with the face of a bull!"[1] These words, put by Euripides in the mouth of the youthful Ion, are not a mere poetic simile, but represent an idea long familiar in art, the meaning of which is not difficult to see. The impetuous course of the torrents of Greece, during the rainy season, suggests an analogy with some form of animal life; and, at the same time, the fluidity of water caused the prevalence of stories of metamorphosis in the mythological character of the river gods. In the legend of Achelöos, the stream was "now a magnificent bull, now a spotted snake with long coils; now, again, he bore the body of a man and the countenance of a bull, and from his chin, as from a fountain, sprang a flowing stream."[2]

Art is in entire agreement with poetry in the representation of scenes suggested by the myth of Achelöos. The reader is doubtless familiar with the main outlines. The river god, personifying the stream which

[1] Euripides, *Ion.*, 1261.

[2] Sophocles, *Trach.*, 13 and following.

flows between Ætolia and Acarnania, disputes with Herakles for the possession of Deianira; and, overcome in the conflict, leaves one of his horns in the hands of the hero. Vase-painters represent him in the form of a bull with the face of a man, emitting from his mouth streams of water; this is the subject of a painted vase from Girgenti. Elsewhere, on the coins of Ætolia, for instance, he wears the aspect of a man with horns upon his brow, holding a patera and a reed.

But, though of all the Greek rivers Achelöos is the one richest in legend, other river-gods present similar plastic types. Coins afford the best means of studying the type. In the first place, they are more often inspired by local legend, and, moreover, they provide a chronological sequence, which enables the development of type to be traced. The oldest manner of representing a river-god is the combination of the bull's body with the human face. Thus on the coins of Gela in Sicily (fig. 87), the river Gelas is represented in this way in the archaic period;[1] the face is rude in character, the beard is long, and the short and straight hair receives a granular treatment. The same type is maintained, even when art is much less restrained. Ælian,[2] enumerating the forms under which rivers are worshipped in various Greek countries, says that the

Fig. 87.—River-god (coin of Gela).

[1] See the series of coins from Gela in the *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum—Sicily*.

[2] *Variæ Historiæ*, ii., 33.

Eurotas at Sparta, the Asopos at Sicyon and Phlius, and the Cephisus at Argos, are all like bulls. But a purely human type of river-god begins to appear on coins without its being certain that this later representation is reserved for the smaller streams. The river Gelas himself, on the coins of Gela (fig. 88), appears as a young beardless man, crowned with reeds, and surrounded with fish; on his brow are sprouting horns. The Strymon on the coins of Amphipolis, and the Hipparis on those of Camarina, present similar types. At Selinos the coin engravers represent the Hypsas as a young man standing full length, and sacrificing upon an altar.[1]

Fig. 88.—Head of river-god (coin of Gela).

River-gods often take their place in the great sculptural compositions which decorate the pedestals of temples, where they serve to indicate the place assigned by legend to the scene represented. The exigencies of the triangular shape of the pediment helped, no doubt, to emphasize the half-recumbent position already felt to be appropriate to river-gods. It is thus that the two river-gods of Athens fill the angles of the western pediment of the Parthenon; and in the temple at Olympia, the Cladeos and the Alpheus in the same way frame the composition of the eastern pediment. The fine statue in the Louvre, known as the Inopos, is doubtless a fragment of some architectural whole.[2] In the group of the Tyche of Antioch, executed by

[1] *Catalogue of the Greek Coins—Sicily*, p. 141.

[2] Fröhner, *Sculpture Antique*, No. 448.

a pupil of Lysippus, Eutychides the Sicyonian, and reproduced on the coins of the city, the river Orontes appears emerging below the feet of Tyche. From the Hellenistic period onwards, beginning with the successors of Alexander, this practice becomes habitual. The classical type of the river-god then came to be that of a figure in a half-reclining position, crowned with reeds, and leaning on an urn. Two of the most celebrated instances only can here be quoted, namely, the statues of the Nile and the Tiber, discovered at Rome in the sixteenth century. The statue of the Nile is now in the Braccio-Nuovo of the Vatican. It represents a bearded man in the prime of life, half lying down, and holding in one hand an ear of wheat, in the other a cornucopia, as seen on a Roman coin of the time of Hadrian (fig. 89). Around him play sixteen children, personifying the sixteen cubits which the river must rise above its bed in order to fertilize the valley by the deposit of alluvial mud. Some hold ears of corn, others play with a crocodile and an ichneumon. On the pedestal are carved the animals and the plants peculiar to Egypt. This colossal figure is no doubt the copy of a Greek original, dating from the period subsequent to that of the successors of Alexander. It was matched by the statue of the Tiber, now in the Louvre. The Roman river half lies upon a rock, holding a rudder and a cornucopia. In front of him is the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus. The decorative effect of these enormous monuments is very

Fig. 89.—River Nile (Roman coin).

striking; but the abuse of allegory shows the beginning of the love of theatrical display which developed during the Græco-Roman period. Art is far from the forcible and simple conceptions of the Greeks.

§ 2. The Nymphs.

Krause, *Die Musen, Grazien, Horen, und Nymphen* (Halle, 1871).

Although in popular mythology the Nymphs are often confused with the Dryads and Hamadryads, and inhabit the forest or the mountain, they are, notwithstanding, originally spirits of the waters. These cheerful goddesses, who delight in the choral dance, dwell in dark grottoes, whence the springs take their rise. "In that safe place are shut stone bowls and amphoras. There do the bees deposit their honey, and upon mighty looms made of rock the Nymphs weave purple garments a wonder to behold."[1] Although their origin is similar to that of the river-gods, art respected their charm, and always represented the spirits of springs as entirely human maidens.

In monuments of the pure Hellenic style, the Nymphs have no special attributes. Nothing distinguishes them from the Horai or the Charites. On the bas-reliefs of Thasos, dating from the first half of the fifth century, they might be confused with the Charites, were it not for an inscription which points out as Nymphs the young women clad in the Dorian peplos or diploidion, and bearing fillets and flowers. The same confusion is possible in looking at the Attic ex-votos representing the god Pan in a grotto, opposite a group of three

[1] *Odyssey*, xiii., 102 and following.

young women, led by Hermes, dancing, and draped in long veils. These have been variously described as the daughters of Cecrops, the Horai, and the Charites. But the habitual association of Pan with the Nymphs, rustic deities like himself, allows the recognition of these figures as those of the goddesses of springs.[1] In the Homeric hymn to Pan, they are the companions of the god. "The Orestiad Nymphs follow him with secret tread to the deep spring, and join their sounding voices with his voice. Echo answers them around from the top of the high mountains, in the tender meads where the crocus and the sweet-smelling hyacinth mingle their blossoms in the tufted grass; while the god, his shoulders covered with the skin of a lynx, blood-besprinkled, dancing now and again, takes his place in the measure, proud at heart of the re-echoing joy."[2]

The Nymphs compose an impersonal group, but the divinity of a particular source is often separately represented. The coins of Syracuse show the head of the nymph Arethusa, surrounded by fish, according to the regular type used for river-gods. A bas-relief at Naples (fig. 90), representing the nymphs Telonnesos, Ismene, Kykais, and Eranno, as well as the Charites, no doubt refers to the goddesses of particular springs. But in studying the type, such peculiarities as this may be disregarded. The Nymphs were at first completely draped, but later it was usual to represent them half draped only over the lower part of the body. Sometimes in the quite late days of art, they hold in

[1] See Pottier, *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.*, 1881, p. 349 and following.

[2] *Homeric Hymn to Pan*, xviii., 19-25.

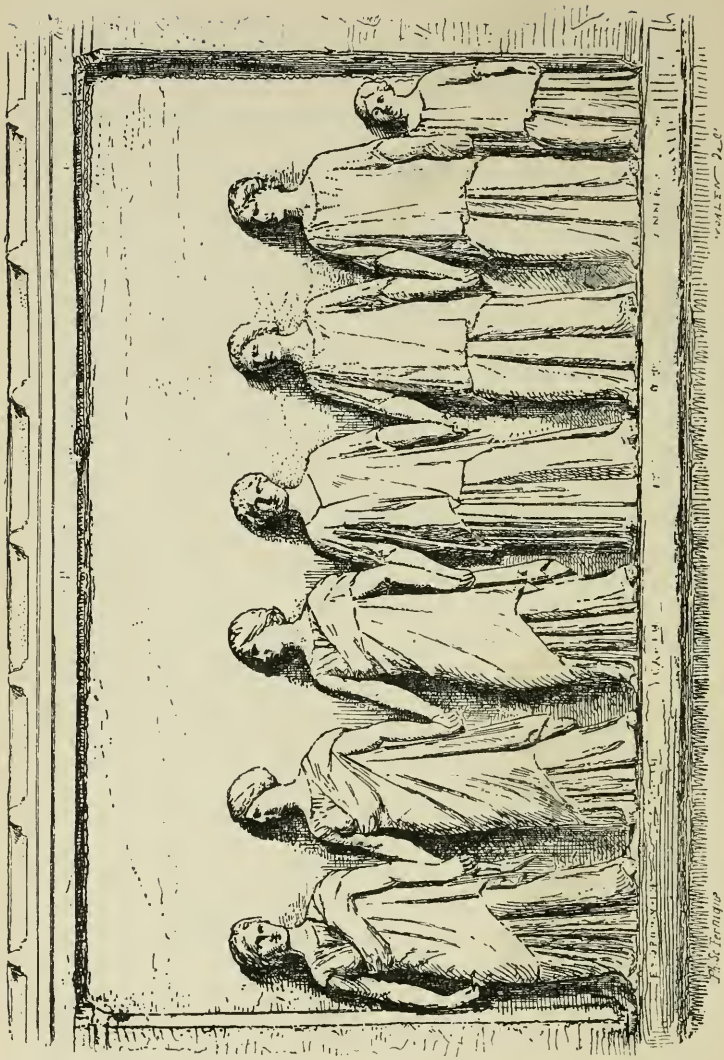

Fig. 90.—Nymphs and Charites (Naples).

their hands a shell or an urn whence flows water. Græco-Roman art multiplies the statues of the Nymphs, who are often worshipped as the divinities presiding over hot springs.[1] It is not uncommon to see them grouped three together on bas-reliefs used to decorate *Nymphæa*, or erections over the source of a fountain or a hot spring.

[1] Mommsen, *Inscriptiones Regni Neapolitani*, No. 3513.

BOOK III.

THE GODS OF THE EARTH.

CHAPTER I.

GAIA AND CYBELE.

Gerhard "Ueber das Metröon zu Athen, und über die Götter-Mutter der Griech. Mythologie," in the *Akad. Abhandlungen;* A. Conze, "Hermes Kadmilos," *Arch. Zeitung*, 1880, taf. 1-4, p. 1; Carl Curtius, *Das Metröon in Athen.*

From very early times, the earth was personified by the Greeks as a deity, under the name of Gaia or Ge. In the Hesiodic Theogony, this goddess is one of the primeval elements of the world. She it is who, by the action of Eros, is joined in marriage to Chaos, and so becomes the mother of Ouranos, or the Heaven. By him, again, she becomes the mother of the monstrous brood of Titans. Underlying all these legends is the grand poetic conception of the never-ending fertility of the earth, always present in the Greek mind; Gaia is the universal mother, the most ancient of divinities, who nourishes upon her soil all living things.[1]

But long established though the worship of Gaia is, in mythology she only occupies a subordinate place, and it would seem that her character of primeval

[1] *Homeric Hymn to Gaia*, xxx.

goddess was too general and too complex to present a well-defined outline such as the artist asks. Little is known of the early images used for her worship. It is probable that she was represented seated, as she appeared in a statue seen by Pausanias in the sanctuary of Demeter at Patræ. Perhaps Panofka[1] is right in identifying with Gaia certain terra-cotta images representing a seated female deity, wearing a polos, from which falls a long veil. Sometimes this goddess holds a child pressed against her breast, and enveloped in the folds of her drapery. In this case, she may be Ge Kourotrophos, the fostering goddess, who had a sanctuary on the west slope of the Acropolis of Athens.[2] But though little is known of the cultus images of Gaia, the goddess appears in scenes where her functions as Chthonian deity are marked by an interesting point of detail; she is shown only half length, with her bust rising out of the ground. She is thus represented in vase-paintings and on bas-reliefs representing the birth of Erichthonios, the father of the Attic race, the earth-born hero. Gaia, with a wealth of luxuriant and flowing hair, half rises from out the depths of the earth, and presents the child to Athena. She is depicted in the same fashion, rising out of the earth, in scenes of the Gigantomachia. In the later times of art, she is distinguished by the turreted crown around her brow.

On the other hand, the huge Titans, sons of Gaia, offer a subject constantly treated in plastic art. The reader has already seen that the struggle of the gods

[1] Panofka, *Terra-cotten des K. Museums zu Berlin*, pl. i., 2, 3, and pl. ii.

[2] Pausanias, i., 22, 3.

and the Titans, or the Gigantomachia, is a common subject for large sculptural compositions, suitable for the decoration of buildings used for religious purposes.[1] In this way the development of the type of the Titans in art can easily be traced. Artistic tradition seems, as time went on, to have perpetually emphasized the monstrous character of these sons of the earth.

On the oldest monuments, such as the pediments of the Treasury of the Megarians at Olympia, and the metopes of the most southerly of the temples at Selinos, the Titans have the form of men; they fight, as Hesiod says, "shining in the brilliancy of their armour, and brandishing long spears."[2] By the fourth century, upon the bas-reliefs of the frieze of the temple of Athena Polias at Priene, they are winged, and their bodies end in serpents' tails, covered with scales. Later still, in the frieze of the great altar at Pergamos, the theme is developed by the sculptor with an extraordinary richness of imagination. Among the Titans, who are fighting against the company of the gods, are some who look like youthful heroes; for instance, in the group where Athena appears, Gaia is appealing to the compassion of the goddess on behalf of a young Titan in human shape (fig. 91). Others, with enormous wings, raise against the gods the serpents' heads in which their limbs terminate; while others, again, have the head and chest of a lion, or the head of a bull; others the scales of a fish. The dramatic feeling and the somewhat theatrical taste of the successors of Alexander, suggested to the sculptors of the frieze an infinite number of combinations of shape, by which

[1] See book i., ch. i., p. 35. [2] *Theogony*, 185.

Fig. 91.—Athena in Gigantomachia, from Pergamene frieze (Berlin).

they might represent the monstrous nature of the sons of the Earth, who are on the point of being defeated by the gods. The victory of the gods over the Titans is the triumph of order over the natural forces, violent and unorganized, which were at work within the bosom of the earth at the creation of the world.

In another form, Cybele, like Gaia, is the deified earth.[1] But her origin is unlike that of the primeval goddess. The mother of the gods, the great goddess, is an Asiatic goddess, and the centre of her worship was at Pessinus,[2] at the foot of Mount Didymus, where the Phrygians celebrated occult rites to the sound of drums and cymbals, with all the raptures of a passionate mysticism. The worship of Cybele, early brought into Greece, there received official recognition. Athens had a temple of the Mother of the Gods, known as the Metröon, adorned with a statue of Cybele, executed probably by a pupil of Pheidias, Agoracritus. The Phrygian goddess found her chief worshippers among the populace. Ex-votos and inscriptions show the great favour with which her worship was regarded by the sailors and the foreigners who frequented the Peiræus.

Ex-votos in relief,[3] and votive statuettes,—such, for instance, as the Louvre figure, which comes from the Metröon in the Peiræus,—reproduce the regular type of the goddess. On an Attic ex-voto (fig. 92), from the

[1] She is confused with Rhea, whose legend is given in the Hesiodic Theogony.

[2] Livy, xxix., 10, 11.

[3] Stephani gives the list. See *Der Ausruhende Herakles*, p. 68. See also Conze, "Hermes-Kadmilos," in the *Arch. Zeitung*, 1880.

Berlin Museum, the Mother of the Gods seems to be represented as in the cultus statue of Agoracritus

Fig. 92.—Cybele, votive relief (Berlin).

Seated on a throne, wearing on her head the high stephane from which the veil falls, she holds in one hand a cup, and in the other the flattened drum, or

cymbal, used in the rites in her honour; a lion lies at her feet. Sometimes her statue is placed in a little building representing a temple. Elsewhere, as on a terra-cotta ex-voto found on the Ionian coast and now in the Sabouroff collection at the Hermitage, the artist has surrounded her with persons who compose her train: a Silenus, a young Kadmilos pouring out the wine of libation, dancing women, and a row of wild beasts, these latter symbolizing the royal sway exercised by the Mother of the Gods over all living nature. In the monuments of art, the type of Cybele admits of no variation involving any great alteration. She always has the developed figure of mature womanhood, and the expression of her face is majestic and calm. Clad in the long robe and veil, she wears the stephane, or the high headdress of the matronly goddesses, called the calathos. In Græco-Roman sculpture the artist gives her for headgear the turret crown, and the lion is her invariable attribute.

Connected with the worship of Cybele is that of Attis, the young Phrygian shepherd, represented in the Asiatic legend as the lover of the Mother of the Gods. But the figure of Attis was not in favour in the art of Greece proper during the best period; and if the Greek artist has to introduce him into an ex-voto, the barbarian character of this foreign god is diminished, and his origin is only indicated by details in his costume, such as the Phrygian cap and anaxyrides.[1] It is not till the Roman epoch that representations of Attis are common. That was a period when the populace was

[1] See an article by M. Max Collignon, on "Bas-reliefs Grecs Votifs de la Marciana," in *Monuments Grecs de l'Ass. des Études Grecques*, 1881.

passionately interested in the mystic and disquieting emotions aroused by the worship of the youthful god, the victim of mutilation imposed by Cybele in a fit of jealousy, dying in the bloom of youth, and subsequently brought back to life. Græco-Roman art is fond of representing him. Attis is soft and effeminate in figure, his drapery only partly covers him, and he leans languidly upon the shepherd's crooked stick which recalls his pastoral origin. Near him is a pine tree, on the branches of which are hung the cymbals, the flute, and the drum,—all the noisy instruments of the worship of the Mother of the Gods.

CHAPTER II.

DEMETER AND KORE (CERES AND PROSERPINE).

Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, ii., book iv., "Demeter und Kore;" Fr. Lenormant, article "Ceres" in the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines;* Mannhardt, "Demeter" in the volume of *Miscellaneous Essays*.

§ 1. Type of Demeter and Kore in Art.

To the Greeks the chief earth goddess was Demeter. Her religious legend was inspired by the conception of the inexhaustible fertility of the earth and the mystery of the yearly germination of the seed. A beneficent goddess, it was Demeter who taught men, through the instructions of Triptolemus, the uses of agriculture; it was she, as Thesmophoros, who instituted marriage. But the most important of the myths of Demeter is that of the rape of Kore, her daughter; the disappearance of the young goddess, and her periodic re-appearance upon the earth, represented in vivid and poetic imagery the yearly renewal of nature, and the suspension of all vegetable life during the winter time. The sadness of Demeter, bereft of her daughter, and the mournful search to which she devoted herself, gave a touch of passionate tenderness to the expression of Demeter; her motherhood is her distinctive feature. At the same time the deep moral significance belonging to her ritual helps to give great dignity to her sacred figure.

At first the representations of Demeter were rude xoana. In Phigaleia, in Arcadia, a strange xoanon of the black Demeter (Melaina) presented a combination of monstrous shapes; the goddess had the head of a mare surrounded by snakes. Such was the respect for local tradition to which this image was due, that an

Fig. 93.—Demeter (terra-cotta figures).

Æginetan sculptor, Onatas, was commissioned to reproduce in marble the old wooden statue which had been destroyed by fire. It is probable that the xoana of Demeter usually represented her seated, and an old type of Demeter may be recognised in a series of terra-cotta figures found at Haghios Sostis, on the site

of Tegea[1] (fig. 93, A and B). Most of them are of rude workmanship, and show the goddess seated, wearing the polos, and covered with necklaces and jewels. There is the more reason for giving the name of Demeter to these rude figures that about the same time another terra-cotta was found, of later workmanship, showing the plastic type after it had attained its complete development, as it was conceived by the artist of the severe school of the early years of the fifth century. The characteristic marks of the goddess are the lofty cylindrical headdress (polos) adorned with fully expanded flowers, the veil falling upon her shoulders, and the poppy in front of her. The same calm and solemn pose is to be seen in the terra-cottas of Ægina and Magna Græcia; and it may be inferred, with probability, that the cultus statues during the archaic period reproduced a similar type.

The art of the fifth century emphasises the matronly character of Demeter by representing her with the fully developed form of a woman who has borne children. The fine bas-relief of Eleusis, marked by a severe simplicity of style still more conspicuous owing to unmistakable traces of archaism, affords the best example of the type of Demeter in the period immediately preceding Pheidias. The two goddesses, seated on stools close to each other in the east pediment of the Parthenon, have been called Demeter and Kore; but the attribution is so doubtful that no statement as to the type of either mother or daughter can be based on it. A sculptor who lived about the hundred and second Olympiad (368 B.C.), Damophon of Messina

[1] Fr. Lenormant, *Gaz. Archéol.*, 1878, p. 42.

Fig. 94.—Demeter (Vatican).

represented the two great goddesses in a group placed

in the temple of Akakesion in Arcadia. Probably the fourth-century artist modified the type current in the fifth century B.C. by giving to Demeter's face a pathetic expression. Praxiteles made statues of the goddess more than once: in a group with Kore and Iacchus for a temple at Athens, and again in a group of the principal Olympian gods, as well as in the group known as the

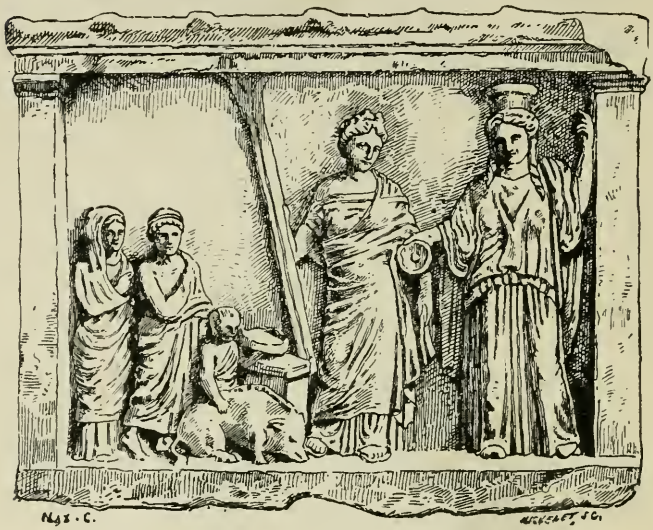

Fig. 95.—Sacrifice to Demeter and Persephone.

Katagousa, which represented one of the episodes in the myth of the rape of Kore.

The type of Demeter, as finally determined by art, offers more than one point of similarity with that of Hera; but it is, nevertheless, distinguishable by the gentler and more human aspect of Demeter; the divine element is less strongly insisted upon, and consequently some

doubt has been cast on the propriety of regarding as

Fig. 96.—Demeter of Cnidus (British Museum).

Demeter certain statues which have been so considered.

The presence of the well-known attributes of the goddess, such as the polos, the torch, the wheat sheaf, or the pig, is the best proof that the figure is really that of Demeter. Speaking generally, the existing marbles may be classified under three heads. To the first class belong the statues of which the colossal Demeter in the Vatican (fig. 94) is the most complete specimen. The goddess is standing, leaning on a sceptre, clad in the Dorian chiton; often she wears neither veil nor calathos, and her hair is held only by a fillet or a stephane. Probably cultus statues suggested this type, which is also a favourite with the carvers of ex-votos (fig. 95). In another class of monuments, such as the statuette of the Palazzo Doria, and a statue now at Tunis,[1] the goddess is veiled, and holds an ear of corn. A third group consists of statues, so far few in number, of Demeter seated; among these the fine statue found by Sir C. T. Newton at Cnidus most deserves attention (fig. 96). The type of the face, framed by the folds of the veil, is refined and delicate, and the expression of sadness stamped upon it suggests that the artist followed the tradition of Praxiteles. The tradition recalls the *Homeric Hymn*, where the poet introduces the goddess worn out with exhaustion after the fruitless search for her daughter: "There seated, with her hands she held her veil before her face; long silent and plunged in grief she stayed upon that seat, saying no word, and giving no look to any; but unable to smile. . . . She sat, consumed with sorrowing for her daughter, the deep-girdled maiden."[2] It is possible that the head of

[1] Overbeck, *Atlas of Kunstmythologie*, pl. xv., fig. 23.

[2] *Homeric Hymn* 192 and foll.

a veiled woman, brought back from Apollonia in Epirus by M. Heuzey, and now in the Louvre,[1] belonged to a figure of the same type as the Demeter from Cnidus. A head of exactly the same type from the Sabouroff collection is in the Berlin Museum.

Among the terra-cotta figures from Greek burying-grounds, and particularly from the tombs of Tanagra, there is frequently to be found a veiled woman, seated or standing, in whom archæologists are tempted to recognise Demeter. But though this type, as more probably explained, represents a woman and not a goddess, there seems every reason to see Demeter in certain series of terra-cotta figures which may, without much hesitation, be identified with her.

Without indulging unduly the tendency to mythological symbolism, it is reasonable to see in certain figures found at Pæstum and in other Greek cities representations of Demeter Kourotrophos the Nurturer (the type is not distinguishable from that of Ge Kourotrophos). The goddess, seated on a throne, holds a child wrapped in the folds of her veil. These images belong to the class of ex-votos, and recall at once the special protection extended to mothers by Demeter, and the function which legend assigns her as the sacred foster-mother ; according to the Eleusinian tradition she brought up the young Demophon, son of her host Keleos, and she was likewise the mother of Iacchus. Another series of terra-cottas, the meaning of which is less doubtful, show a veiled goddess with her hands upon her breast; only the bust is represented, and

[1] L. Heuzey, *Recherches sur les Figures de Femmes Voilées dans l'Art Grec, in Monuments Grecs de l'Ass. des Études Grecques*, 1873.

seems to rise from out of the ground. These engraved busts seem to refer to the character of Chthonian goddess which Demeter undoubtedly possesses. As has been said, art is fond of representing the earth gods only from the waist upwards, as though appearing for a minute from out of their subterranean realm. In these cases Demeter would seem to be figured in her capacity of sacred guardian of the tombs of the dead.

But though the type in art of Demeter is sometimes not very clearly defined, that of Kore is even less precise, and Demeter's daughter is less easily to be recognised by any personal characteristics than by the individuals with whom she is associated. There is no doubt of her identity when she appears beside Hades, under the name of Persephone, or Pherephatta, with her head veiled, as if she were a Hera of the lower world. On the other hand, when she is represented outside the realm of the dead, wherein during a third of the year she shares the rule of Hades, her individuality is less distinct. On Sicilian coins, for instance, the type of Kore has much similarity with that of Demeter; the delicacy of profile, the gentle expression, the crown of wheat ears round the hair, are features common to both the great goddesses. Archaic terra-cottas represent them both seated, and exactly similar. A marble statue found at Cnidus, the archaism of which is more affected than genuine,[1] represents Kore with the high calathos and the veil gathered tightly round her form; one of her hands holds a flower against her breast. But in later times art succeeds in finding shades of difference to distinguish Kore from Demeter, by giving her a

[1] Sir C. T. Newton would see in this a work of the fourth century.

more youthful and slender figure, a less matronly aspect, and a simpler headdress. Thus vase-painters, while keeping the long torch and the ears of corn which Demeter also carries, give Kore for headdress a fillet instead of the calathos.[1] The statue of the Museum at Naples in the Sala di Giove, shows Kore as a young girl holding a sheaf of corn, in the pose of Demeter, but of a much more slender build than the elder goddess. Figures of Kore alone are not common; she more often appears in scenes taken from the conjoint mythology of the great goddesses.

§ 2. Myths of Demeter in Art.[2]

The principal centre of the worship of Demeter was Eleusis. The mysteries there celebrated reached such a degree of importance from the sixth century onwards that they may be looked upon as the highest expression of the religion of the ancient world. This is not the place to summarise the lengthy controversies to which the study of the mysteries has given rise.[3] The problem is not near solution, and archæologists can only conjecture what were the rites in which the faithful pilgrims participated who left Athens and followed the holy way to the entrance of the Eleusinian sanctuary, the plan of which is now laid bare. It is at least probable that the ceremonies known only to the initiated included some sort of scenic representation. The episodes in the story of Demeter were enacted in a series of moving scenes

[1] See fig. 95.

[2] Besides the books already referred to, see Gerhard, "Ueber den Bilderkreis von Eleusis," in the *Akad. Abhandlungen.*

[3] See the interesting chapter in M. P. Decharme's *Mythologie de la Grèce Antique*, p. 364.

before the eyes of the onlookers, and acting vividly upon their imaginations. Amid these legends the story of the rape of Kore held the foremost place. The different stages of this myth are familiar from the poetic tale in the Homeric hymn. Kore, playing with her companions in the fields of Enna, and "plucking the rose and the crocus, fair violets, the iris and the hyacinth flower," is carried off by Aidoneus or Hades, "who, in spite of her struggles, caught her up into his golden chariot and bore her off, though she lamented and called with loud cries upon her father, the son of Kronos, the highest and most mighty lord."[1] The second act of this sacred drama consists of the sad wanderings of Demeter in search of her daughter. The reader need hardly be reminded how Zeus consented to send Hermes to bring back Persephone; how she, having unwittingly tasted some seeds of a pomegranate, is obliged by the bidding of Zeus to stay through the winter as the companion of Hades; how in the end Demeter is appeased, and consents herself to escort her daughter back to the realm of Hades.

Such a legend as this, which lent itself to representation in the temple of Eleusis by pictures alternately sombre and brilliant, showing now the regions of the lower world, and then again the brilliant light of Olympus, furnished art with subjects for dramatic scenes. The rape of Kore is constantly treated. Praxiteles had represented it in a bronze group, in which the Athenian master must have found scope for the display of all the resources of his genius, skilled as he was in portraying the more passionate emotions

[1] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, iv., ll. 1-21.

An Alexandrine painter, Nicomachus, took the scene as the subject of one of his pictures. It is a striking fact that the same scene is found on a large number of coins, such as those of Nysa, Sardis (fig. 97), Cyzicus, and Hierapolis, and it is possible that the coin engravers were reproducing a great work of sculpture. The subject also appears in vase-paintings, but the most complete series of scenes is to be found in the carvings of sarcophagi. It is easy to understand how in the days of the Roman Empire the idea of a second birth and a future life found happy expression in such allegorical compositions as this. Thus, on several sarcophagi—such, for instance, as those in the Hall of the Muses in the Vatican and in the Palazzo Ricasoli at Florence—different scenes from the myth are often grouped within the frame of the relief, representing, as if in so many successive pictures, the plucking of the flowers (*ἀνθολογία*), the rape of Kore, and the departure of Demeter mounted upon a chariot drawn by dragons, and hastening to seek for her daughter. The popularity of this allegory in Roman times is attested to this day by the paintings at Ostia and the tomb of the Nasones.

Fig. 97.—Rape of Persephone (coin).

The return of Persephone to the light of day under the escort of Hermes is less often represented, but at least one instance must be referred to. The fine vase

Fig. 98.—Return of Persephone (vase-painting)

painting here given (fig. 98) shows Persephone still half within the region of the dead, and welcomed to the upper world by Hecate in the presence of Demeter. The artist has followed the current version of the story, though in one of the Homeric hymns it is Demeter herself who goes to fetch her daughter.[1]

In his group of the *Katagousa*, only known from Pliny's description,[2] Praxiteles no doubt represented one of the latest stages of the myth; the work probably served to balance the group of the rape. The reconstitution of the *Katagousa* is the subject of an ingenious paper by M. Heuzey, who would see reminiscences of the composition of Praxiteles in several terra-cotta groups from Tanagra.[3] But fascinating as the theory is, it seems doubtful whether the Athenian master would have represented Demeter carrying Kore, and the Tanagra figures more probably represent the games of some girls at sport. The scene of the rape, in which the chariot of Hades was conspicuous, suggests that something similar would appear in the second group, and it is tempting to believe with M. O. Rayet that Praxiteles represented Demeter carrying Kore back to Hades on a chariot by her side. In every-day life the bride was thus taken on a chariot to the house of the bridegroom.

When her sorrow is appeased, Demeter loads man-

[1] *Orphic Hymns*, xli.

[2] Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiv., 69: "Fecit . . . et ex ære pulcherrima opera: Proserpinæ raptum, item Catagusam."

[3] L. Heuzey, "Recherches sur un Groupe de Praxitèle d'après les Figurines de Terre-Cuite," *Gaz. des Beaux Arts*, 1875. See O. Rayet, *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, 1st edit. Figurine de Tanagra, collection Lécuyer.

kind with benefits. Before leaving Eleusis she entrusts to Triptolemus the ear of wheat which is to make fruitful the fields, and enjoins upon him the task of

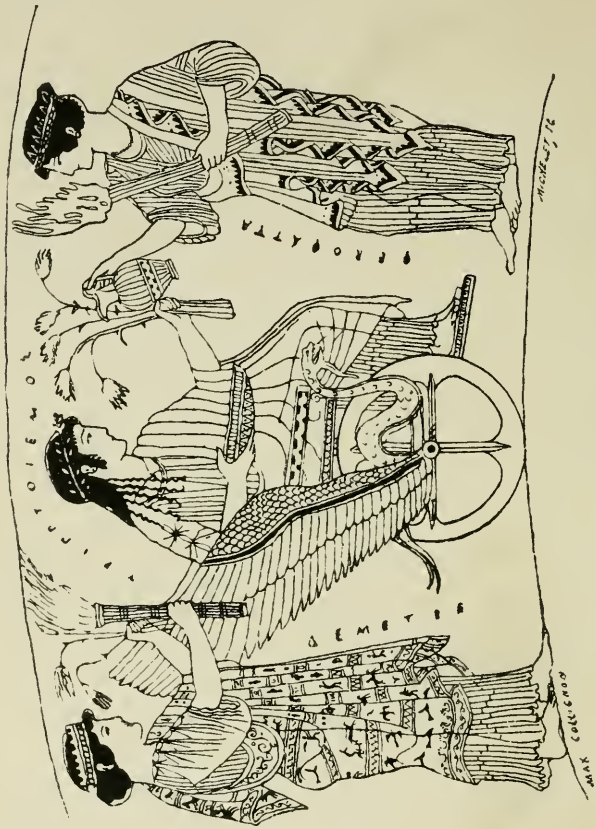

Fig. 99.—Triptolemus, Hieron vase (British Museum).

spreading abroad among men this precious gift. The main illustration of the myth of Triptolemus in art is to be seen in a long series of vase-paintings, one of the

finest of which is the cylix by Hieron, in the British Museum, of which a fragment is reproduced in fig. 99. Triptolemus wears a long chiton and himation, and is seated upon a winged chariot drawn by snakes. In one hand he has the sheaf of wheat, the kindly power of which he is about to teach to man; with the other he holds out a cup to receive the sparkling draught that Persephone pours out for him. This was one of the favourite subjects with the inhabitants of Attica, and in treating it the potters of the Kerameikos were only representing a popular legend well calculated to flatter Athenian patriotism. It was Triptolemus, so the story went, who first discharged at Eleusis the functions of priest of the great goddesses. In Athenian art he is always the Grain-giver; only in Alexandrian days, when he took upon him in Egypt the functions of Osiris, did he become the typical ploughman—

"Uncique puer monstrator aratri."[1]

[1] *De Triptolemo Aratore, Genethliacon Gottingense.*

CHAPTER III.

DIONYSUS (BACCHUS) AND HIS TRAIN.

Fr. Lenormant, article on Bacchus in the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines;* article on Dionysus by Thræmer in *Roscher's Lexicon.*

§ 1. Dionysus.

The son of Zeus and Semele is one of the latest gods in the Greek Olympus. In the Homeric poems his place is not yet well marked among the Hellenic gods; he is somewhat of a stranger, but yet Lycurgus, who contends with him, is "abhorred of the immortal gods."[1] His worship, Asiatic in origin, was probably brought into Greece by way of Thrace; it came first to Bœotia, where Thebes became the cradle of the legend, and then into Attica. The importance of the worship of Dionysus in Attica is well known; it is intimately connected with the development of poetry, dithyrambs, comedy, and tragedy. But in the beginning the worship of Dionysus was very simple; he was the wine god, honoured chiefly by the vine-growers of Attica; in the rustic festivals in which they smeared with lees the rude image of Dionysus there was not any trace of the mystic and passionate raptures which later made up an essential element in the Dionysiac religion. This orgiastic element did

[1] *Iliad,* vi., 130-40. The passage is probably a late interpolation.

not develop until about the sixth century under the influence of Thrace and the Lydo-Phrygian religions, and it was the entry into Greece of a new Asiatic worship of Dionysus which supplied Euripides with the subject of his tragedy of the *Bacchæ*. When the god entered Thebes on his way from Lydia, he looked like a stranger. The graceful languor of his gait and his effeminate costume betrayed his Asiatic origin. "They say that there has come from Lydia a stranger, an attractive impostor, whose hair is fair and curled, and his head scented, and his black eyes have all the charm of Aphrodite."[1] The new arrival brings in his train a following of bacchantes, who with him have left the heights of Tmolus, near Sardis. Crowned with "flowering bunches of the evergreen ivy, with oak-leaves and pine," they make the mountains echo to their cries, and leap "through the valleys, over torrents and rocks, carried away by the madness inspired in them by the god." The magnificent lines of Euripides reveal the ecstatic and impassioned character of the new religion, which was enthusiastically taken up by the women of Greece, when Oriental mysticism invaded Greece in the practices of the Dionysiac religion.

The transformations which deeply affected the very spirit of the worship of Dionysus can only be briefly touched upon here, but some account of them is necessary for understanding the type of the god in art. Art indeed reflected them faithfully, and worked hand in hand with religion. The earliest images of the god stood in close relation with the old conception of the Greek Dionysus, the god of the vinedresser.

[1] Euripides, *Bacch.*, 233.

These were herms, surmounted by a bearded head, often painted with vermilion; round these posts twined the ivy or the vine. Vase-paintings have preserved the appearance of these herms, often dressed in striped

Fig. 100.—Xoanon of Dionysus and Mænad dance. Cylix by Hieron (Berlin).

Vase by Hieron (Berlin Museum).

stuffs, which for a long time were the countryman's favourite image of the god. The ancient xoana described by Pausanias must have been of this type. No better instance could be selected than the vase-painting in fig. 100, from a cylix at Berlin, signed by

Hieron. On the obverse is the figure of Dionysus, merely a draped post surmounted by a head. The robe of the figure is elaborately decorated, a fashion of which Hieron seems to have been fond. From the bust and neck of the god issue vine branches, on which are suspended circular objects of uncertain meaning; round his neck he wears a garland of dried figs, which symbolize purification. In front of the xoanon is an altar flecked with blood; on it no doubt sacrifice has just been made. Round about it dance the Mænad worshippers: some carry the thyrsus, one plays the pipes, another the krotala, another brandishes a kid, but all are dancing in lovely gracious rhythm, a circular chorus broken in part, into a succession of *contredanses*. Attic vase-painting has no more perfect bit of composition than this ritual scene.

Fig. 101.—Head of Dionysus (coin).

Archaic art is only acquainted with one type of face for the god of the vine, that of the bearded Dionysus, the *Pogonites*, represented in the full vigour of manhood. The coins of Thasos and Naxos (fig. 101), show the characteristic features of the head, the long hair crowned with ivy, the silky and abundant beard cut to a point; on vases of the severe style he wears the tunic falling to his feet, and the himation (fig. 102). The centre of the Hieron vase (fig. 102), already discussed, is a good instance of this type. Dionysus bearded, with luxuriant hair, and ivy wreath, carries a splendid vine branch in his left, a thyrsus in his right. He listens, well pleased, to the piping of a snub-nosed, horse-tailed

satyr. Such, in all probability, was the type reproduced by Alcamenes in the chryselephantine statue of the god made for one of the sanctuaries at Athens.[1] This statue may possibly appear on the coins of Athens,

Fig. 102.—Dionysus and Satyr (centre of Hieron cylix)

where Dionysus is shown seated in the attitude usually given by the sculptor to cultus images.

Under the influence of the Lydian legend the old archaic type assumed an effeminate character. The words put by Euripides into the mouth of Pentheus

[1] Pausanias, i., 20, 3.

are applicable to the later figures of Dionysus Bassareus. "The long flowing locks that spread lovingly over thy cheeks are not those of an athlete, and that delicate white skin of thine was never exposed to the ardour of the sun."[1] But though the type of the face still recalls that of the old images, some touches in the costume show an effeminate care for detail; the long tunic developed into the bassara, or robe of the women of Asia; the hair was confined by the Oriental mitre, and the features wore an expression of languor. This type survived in art even in later times. It is thus that Dionysus was figured in the series of bas-reliefs which represent him entering, full of wine, into the house of some mortals, doubtless his priests, to take his seat at the banquet. The most marked of the statues of this class is the Vatican statue (fig. 103), known as the Indian Bacchus, which is to be dated certainly not before the time of Alexander. The wide draperies and majestic pose give Dionysus the appearance of an Asiatic monarch.

In the fourth century, under the influence of the tragic poets, the new Attic school created an entirely different type which eventually prevailed. Nothing can be more unlike the Dionysus of the older vase-paintings than the Ephebe, almost feminine in figure, and standing in an attitude of indolent indifference, who is from this time on represented by sculpture. The pointed description by Callistratus of a statue of Dionysus, due to the chisel of Praxiteles, shows plainly the part of the Athenian artist in this alteration of the type; he was a young man, "in the bloom of youth, soft and

[1] Euripides, *Bacch.*, 455.

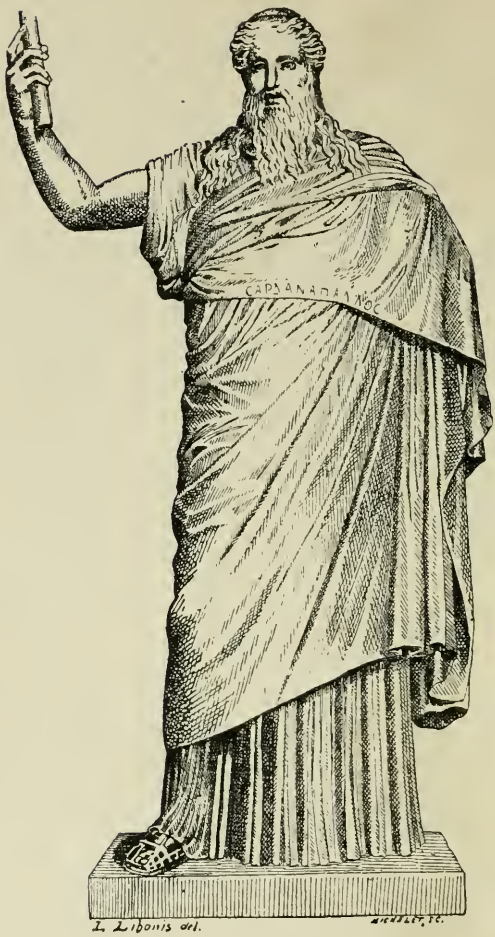

Fig. 103.—Dionysus (Vatican).

voluptuous, as Euripides drew him in the Bacchæ."[1]

[1] Callistratus, *Statuæ*, 8.

His head was crowned with ivy and vine leaves, and he leaned upon a thyrsus. The Greek orator specially dwells in carefully chosen words upon the brilliant and inspired glance of the god, and this certainly was one of the characteristics of his expression. In the tradition inaugurated by Praxiteles, Dionysus wears a curious look of enthusiasm and melancholy combined, as though he were himself filled with the feelings which he arouses. A sculptor such as Praxiteles, skilled in the representation of the most complex motions, must have brought out vividly the species of bewilderment induced by the Bacchic frenzy. This later type of Dionysus is the one most commonly reproduced in the statues in modern museums, which differ from one another chiefly in details of costume or attitude. A marble figure in the Louvre (fig. 104), formerly in the Château Richelieu,[1] shows the god absolutely nude, according to the usual practice of the sculptor; the languid pose, and the feminine aspect of the head, shaded, as it is, with vine and ivy, and framed with long flowing curls, are the most characteristic points in the series of monuments of which the Louvre statue is a specimen. The variety in dress makes but little difference in the plastic type of Dionysus. Sometimes the god wears only his fawnskin, or his pantherskin, tied carelessly round his shoulders, and his delicate feet are protected by the high boots called endromides. On other occasions the fawnskin is worn over a short linen tunic, which half conceals the full and rounded lines of his figure; this is the dress Dionysus wears in the bas-reliefs of the Gigantomachia of Pergamos. Further, there are

[1] Fröhner, *Sculpture Antique*, No. 217.

Fig. 104.—Young Dionysus (Louvre).

statues, like the Munich one, where the lower part of

the body is concealed under the folds of a mantle. The usual attributes of the god are the thyrsus, surrounded with leaves, and surmounted by a fir-cone, and the panther caressing him after the fashion of a dog.

The scenes in the life of Dionysus capable of supplying subjects for representation in art are very numerous. His double birth, first from his mother Semele, and afterwards from the thigh of Zeus, is constantly portrayed on gems and vases. An elegant marble bowl in the Museum of Naples, adorned with reliefs by Salpion of Athens, shows a scene from the childhood of the god; Hermes, followed by Satyrs and mænads, brings him to the nymph Nysa, who is surrounded by mystic personages symbolizing the initiatory rites. When Dionysus has grown older, and travels all over the world as his wandering spirit suggests, his journeys are rich in adventures, and these incidents are multiplied by local tradition. Captured by Tyrrhenian pirates, he suddenly reveals his godhead to them, and changes them to dolphins; this scene is represented on the charming frieze of the monument of Lysicrates. Vase-painters occasionally treat subjects from the legend of his love for Ariadne at Naxos, but the favourite scene in art is the final one of the story, the sacred marriage of Dionysus and Ariadne beneath a bower of ivy, or upon Olympus in the midst of other sacred couples.

In his distant journeyings the god visits the furthest ends of Asia: "I have left the fields of Lydia, so rich in gold, and the lands of the Phrygians; I have crossed the burning plains of Persia, and the cities of

Bactria, and the fearful land of Media, and of Arabia the blest, and all Asia washed by the salt sea with its strong and populous cities where Greeks and barbarians mingle together."[1] This triumphal journey has furnished the subject for a curious vase-painting[2] of the best style; the god, dressed in the Oriental fashion, advances seated upon a dromedary, preceded and followed by Lydian women and by Phrygians in striped garments, playing upon the lyre or the tambourine. The vase seems to illustrate the lines of Euripides above quoted.

§ 2. The Followers of Dionysus:—Satyrs—Sileni—Mænads—The God Pan—The Centaurs.

A. Rapp, "Die Mænaden in dem Griechischen Cultus, in der Kunst und Poesie" (*Rhein. Museum*, 1872); Wieseler, *De Pane et Panisci atque Satyris Cornutis*, 1875; Sidney Colvin, "On Representations of Centaurs in Greek Vase-Painting" (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1880); Mannhardt, *Wald und Feldkülte*.

In the train of Dionysus follows a noisy company; around him are grouped mythological personages of inferior rank, representing in different forms the intense vigour of physical life. In the first rank come the Satyrs. At first they are no more than the savage and superhuman beings which popular fancy supposes to inhabit mountains and forests; then, owing to an affinity with the god, they enter into his train, and become his regular companions. Their type in art results from a combination of human and animal nature; their bodies end in the tail of a horse, their noses are snub, their profile savage, their ears are

[1] Euripides, *Bacch.*, 15 and following.

[2] *Monumenti Inediti dell' Inst.*, t. i., pl. L. A.

straight and pointed like those of goats. Their foreheads are bald, and their beards are long and flowing. The lines of their bodies are sometimes excessively hard and dry, and sometimes, as might be expected in a lascivious and wilful race, puffy and effeminate, thus betraying a love of drink and sensual

Fig. 105.—Satyrs (vase-painting).

instincts. Hesiod paints their moral nature in a stroke or two when he says, "They are a cowardly race, and good for nothing."[1]

The type briefly described above was long maintained in art. The Marsyas of Myron, of which the Lateran

[1] Quoted by Strabo, l., x., 3, 19.

statue is a good copy, is a satyr of the thin and nervous kind, with a tufted beard; and the bronze Marsyas of Patras, now in the British Museum, belongs to the same class. On the vases of the old style (see fig. 105), as well as in later vases, this tradition was observed, and the satyrs are almost always bald and bearded. Few subjects are more commonly treated by vase painters, as they find in the usual occupations of satyrs an inexhaustible store for fancy to draw upon. These joyous companions of Dionysus, with their restless and active temperament, are always in action; sometimes they chase nymphs, as on the coins of Thasos, where the engraver has done full justice to the animal side of their nature; sometimes they play the flute, or in the Dionysiac rout join their fantastic capers with the orgiastic dancing of the Mænads. Athenian comedy helped to popularize them; their cowardice and animal instincts supplied a comic element to the satyric drama of Athens. In the *Cyclops* of Euripides, Ulysses calls them in vain to help him in piercing the red-hot stake into the eye of Polyphemus; they hesitate, and then run away.

Vase-painters, not being obliged to submit to the same conditions as sculptors, delighted in representing satyrs in the traditional way; but in the fourth century a plastic type of satyr was conceived, in which the animal side was very much diminished. The statue by Praxiteles, which Athenæus calls the "Satyr of the Street of the Tripods,"[1] is known from description, and is possibly echoed in the statue (reproduced in fig. 106) known as the Faun, or more correctly the Satyr,

[1] Athenæus, xiii., p. 591, B.

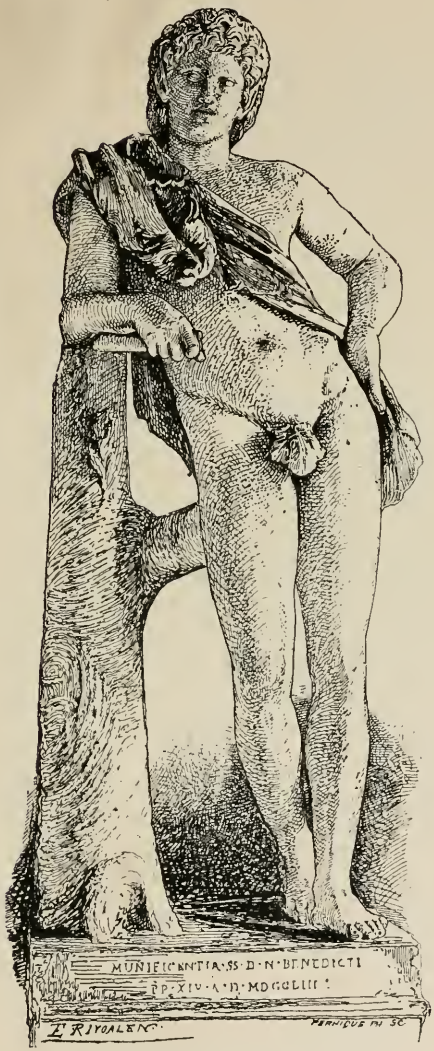

Fig. 106.—Faun of the Capitol.

of the Capitol.[1] He has nothing brute-like about him, only his pointed ears and the fawnskin worn slantwise recall his origin; his careless attitude and slender figure give him the grace of an Ephebe. This new type of the satyr, young and entirely human, was reproduced incessantly in art with every kind of variation, from the utmost refinement to the most complete realism. Usually the only characteristics borrowed from animals are the fleshy glands beneath the chin, the shape of the ears, and the little sprouting horns. It is impossible here to give any list, however brief, of the innumerable monuments representing satyrs in every imaginable attitude. Some instances only can be mentioned. The youthful Satyr of Herculaneum (fig. 107) represents a favourite motive, that of the satyr sleeping lazily, as is natural to one of his pleasure-loving type. In the older satyrs sleep is induced by drunkenness, as is the case with the colossal Munich statue known as the "Barberini Faun."[2] Stretched on the skin of a beast, with mouth half open and frowning brow, he sleeps the heavy sleep of drunkenness; his coarse face, with its thick and pouting lips, strikingly embodies mere animal existence. The tipsy Satyr of the Naples Museum belongs to the same family, but he has not yet been overcome by wine. In fits of laughter he flings back his head, and snaps his fingers with delight.

Side by side with the satyrs in the train of Dionysus were the Sileni, but their mythological origin was quite different. As spirits of springs and fountains they

[1] There are replicas at Munich, in the Vatican, the Villa Borghese, etc.
[2] Brunn, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*, No. 95.

Fig. 107.—Satyr of Herculaneum (Naples).

belonged to the Asiatic element of the religion of

Dionysus. Marsyas, for instance, who is usually called a satyr by Greek writers, was a Silenus according to the Phrygian legend; he was the personification of the little stream Marsyas which flows near the town of Apamea Celænæ, on whose banks grew the reeds from which the Phrygians made their flutes. But when the Sileni were introduced into Greek mythology in company with Dionysus, they lost their original character; their dignity disappeared by degrees, and they ended by being indistinguishable from the satyrs. Hellenic art gives them a comic aspect; they are older satyrs, with fat and hairy limbs. Their regular attribute is the skin full of wine. The fine bronze of Naples (fig. 108), which serves as support to a tripod, represents a Silenus of the usual type, reeling under the influence of wine. Often these comrades of Dionysus wear a species of fitting vest of fur, recalling the goatskin in which the Greek peasant was enveloped; and so clad the Silenus presents the appearance of a being more like an animal than a man. This was the costume worn upon the stage by the actor playing Silenus Pappos, as is shown by a curious vase-painting representing the preparations for a comic play.[1] Besides this the actor wore a special mask over his face, and this is often copied by workers in terra-cotta.[2] These properties helped to make up a comic type, which must have been very like some of the plastic representations of Silenus Pappos; among others may be mentioned a fine marble, found near the

[1] *Monumenti Inediti dell' Inst. di Corrisp. Arch.*, vol. iii., pl. xxxi.

[2] Several of these masks are reproduced and described by M. Cartault in *Terres Cuites Antiques de la Collection Lécuyer.*

Fig. 108.—Silenus (Naples).

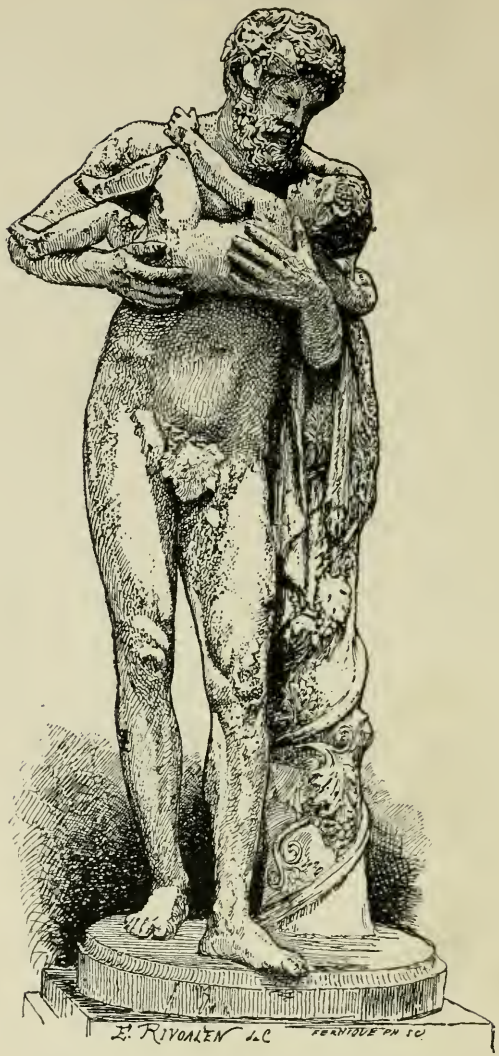

Fig. 109.—Silenus carrying Dionysus (Vatican).

Dionysiac Theatre at Athens, in which the artist has taken special pains over the thick fur of his Silenus. But the vulgarity of the figure vanishes when Silenus appears in art as the foster father of Dionysus. The statues in the Louvre, the Vatican (fig. 109), and in Munich, represent him as a man of mature age, bearing in his arms the young god with an expression of fatherly interest; his strong limbs have lost the fat which usually gives him a comic aspect.

Very different names have been given to the female persons who appear in the company of Dionysus; Mænads, Thyiades, and Bacchantes are constantly confused, and it is difficult to distinguish between these types in art. The chief characteristic of the Bacchante of Scopas, possibly reproduced on the reliefs of the marble vase carved by Sosibios, is the impetuous energy of her action. In the numerous scenes representing the train of Dionysus, the Bacchantes are women with long, disordered hair, clad in trailing garments and fawnskins, waving the thyrsus, or playing upon the cymbals, or the flute, as, for instance, in a bas-relief from Naples (fig. 110). Art, however, sometimes emphasizes the Thracian origin of the Mænads by bestowing on them a distinctive dress; they appear in the garb of huntresses, with short chitons and laced boots, recalling in some points the type of Artemis the Huntress.[1] But it would be a mistake to attempt to classify very definitely the various personages of the train of Dionysus. The artist's fancy has no limits

[1] See the article by Dr. P. Knapp, "Mænaden auf Vasenbildern," *Arch. Zeitung*, 1879.

and delights in the creation of a whole world of

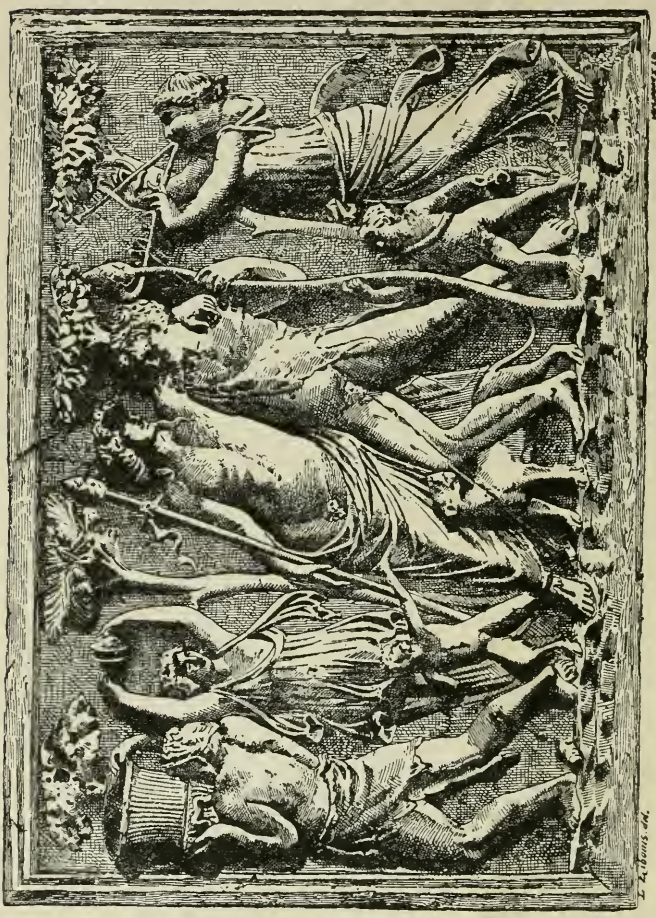

Fig. 110.—Bacchantes (Naples).

imaginary beings, embodying the noisy joys and vivid sensations born of the Bacchic frenzy. On a fine

vase in the Vienna collection, Dionysus is surrounded by beings who are the offspring of mere imagination: Oinonoe is drunkenness, Hedyoinos is the sweetness of wine, Komos represents the Dionysiac chorus and the *abandon* of the excited revel.

The god Pan is often to be found among the

Fig. 111.—Hermes and nymphs in cave of Pan, Gallipoli relief (Vienna).[1]

satyrs and Sileni, as he is closely united with the usual companions of Dionysus, owing to his nature as well as to his character of rustic deity. But the little goat god, son of Hermes, a special favourite

[1] This illustration is, by kind permission of the Council, reproduced from the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

with the shepherds of Arcadia, had his distinctive functions, and his origin was quite independent of the wine god. He was the guardian of the flocks, and delighted in sheltered spots in the midst of rocks, or by the side of streams. After the Persian war he had a precinct set apart to him in a cave in the north-west rock of the Acropolis. A goodly list of ex-votos show him in his cave with Hermes, playing on the syrinx while the nymphs dance.

One instance of this class is given in fig. 111, a relief found at Gallipoli, and now in Vienna. The scene is represented as taking place within the arch of a cave, doubtless the cave of Pan. Pan himself is perched on the rock to the right; he sits cross-legged, and is playing on his pipes. Beneath him is an altar. The main design is occupied by the three nymphs, who, led by Hermes, dance about the altar. He leads them just as a Greek youth nowadays leads the syrtos at many a rural festival. Pan, the piper, was ever the "dear delight" of the nymphs.

His art type is even more closely connected with the animal world than are the satyrs; his legs are those of a goat, and he has horns upon his narrow brow, which is half covered by his short and shaggy hair. The animal aspect of Pan is strongly expressed in the Greek coins of Panticapæum, which bear on the obverse a head of Pan with a brutal and savage expression.[1] No less characteristic is a bust in terra-cotta, in the Museum of the Archæological Society at

[1] R. S. Poole, *Catalogue of Greek Coins—The Tauric Chersonnese*, p. 4 and following.

Athens,[1] which shows considerable ingenuity in combining the features of a man with the head of a goat. The same Museum contains a charming statuette in which Pan, with his wicked yet kindly old face, and his shaggy legs, has donned a himation, which he has carefully folded about him in his attempt to become a respectable Athenian citizen.

The statues that have been preserved are mostly of late date, and reproduce the type just described, which underwent very little modification, save that of constantly increasing coarseness, in its transition from Hellenic to Græco-Roman art. The statue in the Louvre (fig. 112) shows the god Pan with his regular attributes; sometimes he is occupied in teaching the art of flute-playing to the young Olympus. The Arcadian god ended by becoming a mere secondary spirit, half human, and subject to the law of death. The reader probably knows the curious story told by Plutarch,[2] how in the reign of Tiberius, a sailor who chanced to be on the water by the island of Naxos, heard a mysterious voice call the Egyptian pilot, Thamous, and charge him to proclaim everywhere that "Great Pan was dead." This strange story, told by Plutarch in all good faith, illustrates the change undergone in the mythological character of Pan during the last days of Paganism.

Although the Centaurs have their own legends they may be linked with the train of Dionysus; for in a period when art no longer regarded mythologic fact

[1] Furtwængler, "Büste Pans in Terra-cotta," *Mitth. des Arch. Inst.*, 1878, pl. viii.

[2] Plutarch, *De Defect., Orac.*, 17.

Fig. 112.—Pan (Louvre).

they were constantly represented among his followers.

This is not the place to consider the different traditions current concerning the Centaurs, nor to discuss their meaning.[1] The legend recorded by Pindar explains their descent, and makes them the children of Ixion and Nephele; but a careful consideration of the moral and physical characteristics assigned to them by art and poetry alike, leads to the possible conclusion that in these mythological beings is to be found a very early personification of the savage inhabitants of Thessaly. Even in the Homeric poems they were described as creatures covered with hair, of brutal appetites, and savage appearance. Archaic art embodied this conception with its usual vigour. In the oldest works of art, the Centaurs were half animal in form; the hind quarters of a horse were in some way attached to a human body. The Centaur represented in this fashion upon the chest of Cypselus caught the attention of Pausanias, who says, "All his legs were not those of a horse, but in front he had human legs."[2] This type is known from archaic monuments, among which may be mentioned some pendants found in the necropolis at Camiros, and a bronze statuette found at Athens in the substructure of the old Parthenon. In the fifth century the type of the Centaur in art was perfected, and he henceforth kept the human shape only to the waist, from which point sprang the body of a horse. Artists, however, did not forget the primitive type which continues to appear on vases of the best style. It is possible that the designers of vase paint-

[1] See the article "Centauri," by M. de Ronchaud, in the *Dict. des Ant. Grecques et Romaines.*

[2] Pausanias, v., 19, 7.

ings intended in this way to mark the difference between the savage nature of some Centaurs and the gentler instincts of others, who maintained the look of men. But it is not easy to determine this question. At the same time it may be noticed that the vases of later

Fig. 113.—Centaur, Cheiron (vase-painting).

style sometimes assign the older type to Cheiron, the wisest of the Centaurs, the master of Achilles. M. Heydemann[1] would recognise Cheiron in the Attic vase shown in fig. 113, where it will be seen that the artist skilfully conceals, under the folds of a short

[1] *Griechische Vasenbilder*, pl. vii., 1.

mantle, the necessarily uncouth point of junction of the two forms. Cheiron is represented as a huntsman carrying hares fastened to a pine branch.

In plastic art from the fifth century onwards the later type is persistently retained. A favourite topic with the artist was the story of the struggle of Theseus and Peirithöos with the Centaurs at the wedding of Hippodameia. The outline of the story is indicated in the Odyssey: "Was it not wine which in the palace of great-hearted Peirithöos led astray the famous Centaur Eurytion when he came to the feast of the Lapiths? Overmuch wine subdued his wits, and in his madness he did shameful deeds within the palace. Keen wrath fell upon the heroes; they arose, and with the sharp bronze did they cut his ears and nostrils, and drew him out of the portals, all blood-stained, with venom in his heart. And from that time . . . was there war kindled between men and the Centaurs."[1] This struggle supplied sculpture with a subject rich in variety of episode and in dramatic contrasts between the attitude of the Greek heroes and the disordered movements of their opponents. In the fifth century it was treated by the artists who executed the frieze of the so-called Theseion, the metopes of the Parthenon, the eastern pediment of the temple of Olympia, and the frieze of the temple of Phigaleia. This last mentioned work offers admirable examples of the pure Greek type of the Centaur, with his head with its animal expression, his long beard, his muscular hind quarters, and thin delicate horses' legs. The beast-like aspect of the Centaurs is strongly brought out

[1] *Odyssey*, xxi., 295 and following.

Fig. 114.—Youthful Centaur (Capitol).

by the sculptor of the pediment at Olympia; nothing more full of life can be imagined than the Centaur who is dragging off the young Greek maiden. After the battle of Centaurs and Lapiths the most common subjects are the carrying off of Deianira, the visit of Herakles to Pholos, and the combat of Herakles against the Centaurs at the foot of Mount Pholoe. But these appear more frequently in vase-paintings than in sculpture.

As art in quest of novelty sought to reconstruct the old subjects of Greek mythology, the type of the Centaur felt the influence of the development. Zeuxis painted a Centaur mother suckling her child, and in later times the Pompeian painters joined the Centaurs with the Loves, and represented both in Dionysiac scenes. In sculpture Centaurs were represented as single figures, as being subjects well suited to exhibit technical skill, which had by this time become the distinguishing merit of every artist. Two contemporaries of Hadrian, Aristeas and Papias, executed the young Centaur of the Capitol (fig. 114), with a look as festive as a satyr. The names of the same artists appear upon the Old Centaur subdued by Love, now in the Capitol, but of which there is a replica in the Louvre. Such mannerisms as these mark the distance of the space which separates these works from the vigorous conceptions of the Parthenon and the temple at Olympia.

BOOK IV.

THE GODS OF DEATH AND OF THE LOWER WORLD.

CHAPTER I.

THE GODS OF DEATH.

Alf. Maury, "Du Personnage de la Mort et de ses Représentations dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen Age," *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. iv., 1847-8; Julius Lessing, *De Mortis Apud Veteres Figura*, 1866; C. Robert, "Thanatos," *Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste*, 1879; J. E. Harrison, "The Descent into Hades," in *Myths of the Odyssey*; E. Rohde, *Psyche*, 2nd edition.

The form in which the imagination of the Greeks conceived and expressed the idea of death varied considerably at different periods. As compared with the naïve descriptions of epic poetry, the artistic representations of Death in later times show a successful attempt to present the hateful figure in a softened aspect. The theory of archæologists of the eighteenth century was carried too far, and cannot be altogether accepted; Lessing refused to believe that the Greeks could have represented Death in plastic form at all.[1] But there is no doubt that in the best period Greek art avoided horrible figures, such as were the terrific creations of epic poetry.

[1] G. E. Lessing, *Wie die Alten den Tod Gebildet*, etc., 1769.

In this respect the art of Etruscan tombs, in its choice of sombre and repulsive subjects, showed much more respect for the figures begotten by the fancy of the old Greeks, than did the Greek art of the fourth century B.C. So, too, it is in the earliest monuments of Greek art, and the vases of the older style, that the best representations of these figures must be sought. The object of the next chapter will be to show by the help of art the most clearly defined of the types by which the Greeks represented the idea of Death; it has not been found possible to adhere absolutely to chronological order in the treatment.

§ 1. The Keres. Thanatos (Death).

The spirits who dealt to man the fatal blow were the Keres.[1] In epic tradition the Keres personified at the same time both destiny (*Moῖρα*) in general and the supreme destiny of death, but the description of them chiefly suggests the idea of the destructiveness of death in its most striking aspect. The Keres "of Death that stretches man in the tomb"[2] are represented with wings on their feet and shoulders, with black or bluish-coloured skin, and hideous countenance. Hesiod describes them as flying over the field of battle, "grinding their white teeth, with horrible hungry, blood-stained eyes," fighting for the fallen warriors. "All were eager to drink the dark blood. When they seized a warrior lying upon the ground, or who had

[1] For the representations in art of the Keres, see de Witte, *Annali dell' Inst.*, v., p. 311 and foll., and article "Keres" in Roscher.

[2] *Iliad*, viii., 70: δύο κῆρε ταν̓ηλεγέος θανάτοιο.

just fallen thereon, they dug their huge talons into his flesh, and his soul departed to Hades, into the frozen Tartarus."[1] Polygnotus seems to have been inspired by some such description in the painting decorating the Lesche at Delphi. Among the characters of the *Nekyia* is an image of all that is most repulsive in death, the demon Eurynomos, "who devours the flesh of the dead, and leaves only the bones."[2] He is "in colour a blackish blue, like the flies that settle upon meat;" he shows his teeth and gnaws his prey, seated upon the skin of a vulture. But this gloomy personage must be looked on as an individual creation of Polygnotus, and never seems to have passed into popular art.

The Keres seem to have been chiefly familiar in quite early days; but, on the other hand, the type of Thanatos, the image of Death, continued to develop during a period of some length, and traces of it are to be found even in the funeral symbolism of the Romans. Thanatos is Death itself. Twin brother of Hypnos (Sleep), he was, according to differing legends, son of the Night or of Gaia. On the chest of Cypselus, Thanatos and Hypnos are represented as two children, one white, the other black, borne in the arms of Night. But such naïve symbolism as this was soon given up by the artist, who in scenes borrowed from the epic cycle represented the brothers as winged genii. In the sixteenth book of the *Iliad*,[3] when Sarpedon has been slain by Patroklos, Zeus

[1] Hesiod, *Shield of Herakles*, 249 and foll.
[2] Pausanias, x., 28.
[3] *Iliad*, xvi., 671.

bids Apollo summon Hypnos and Thanatos, "the twin brothers," "the swift convoy," to take up the body of his son and carry it back to Lycia, and there lay it in the grave. This scene is represented on several vases. On a black figured amphora in the Louvre, and a fine red figured bowl bearing the signature of Pamphaios and now in the British Museum, the two genii are beardless and of the same age, thus following the tradition of Homer. Both are completely armed, and carry the sword and spear. It is possible that the wearing of armour alludes to the pitiless character ascribed by Hesiod to Thanatos, the god "with iron soul and brazen heart, that knows not pity, neither lets go whom he has seized."[1] If Hypnos is himself regarded as the god "who subdues all," the god who lays mortals low,[2] and is so conceived in art, the idea is usually carried out by representing both spirits naked and unarmed, whether they are bearing away the corpse of Sarpedon, or, following a later version, are lifting in their arms the body of Memnon, son of Eos, to carry him back to Æthiopia.

The figures of Hypnos and Thanatos are, however, not only found in scenes representing myths, but they occur on the white lekythi of Athens, where the subjects are closely connected with popular beliefs. These monuments are of great interest, as showing how completely the Athenian genius had succeeded by the fourth century in divesting the image of Death of all its terrors. The reader probably knows the fine lekythos repre-

[1] *Theogony*, 758 and foll.

[2] This theory is suggested by Dr. C. Robert in his article on Thanatos, p. 13.

Fig. 115.—Hypnos and Thanatos, lekythos (British Museum).

senting the interment of a youthful woman by Hypnos and Thanatos.[1] Another lekythos, in the British Museum (fig. 115), shows the two genii in their most characteristic aspect. Both are depositing at the foot of a stele the body of a young man clad in his armour. Thanatos, wearing a beard, looks like a man in the prime of life; from his shoulders spring two long wings and the upper part of his body is covered with fine plumage. Hypnos, on the other hand, is young and beardless. On the Athenian lekythi Death usually wears the aspect of a man of ripe years, while Sleep is a youth. It would be difficult to find a more delicate means of expressing an idea familiar to literature. A curious fragment of Eukleides of Megara, preserved by Stobæus,[2] describes Hypnos as a youthful spirit, prompt to take flight; while Thanatos is an old man, growing grey, blind, and deaf, whom none may escape.

The poetical conception which made Thanatos the elder brother of Hypnos, as though Death were but a prolonged sleep, easily brought about a confusion between the two spirits. The confusion became complete in the Roman sarcophagi, where the spirit of Death was in truth no other than the spirit of Sleep, represented as a winged boy seeming to sleep, or leaning upon an overturned torch. But though it is impossible to follow out the development of the type to Roman days, it should be remembered that the gradual toning down of horror in the figure of Death is altogether Greek. On vase-paintings Thanatos is a kindly spirit, and his image is in complete harmony with the repre-

[1] *Manuel d'Arch. Grecque*, p. 310, fig. 119.
[2] *Florilegium*, vi., 65.

sentation of funeral steles, where the feeling evoked is one of peace and rest alone. The bystander is reminded of the prayer in the *Philoctetes* of Æschylus, calling upon Thanatos, "who only is the physician of incurable ills, for no pain any more reaches him who is dead."[1]

§ 2. The Harpies and the Sirens.

Cerquand, *Études de Mythologie Grecque;* Schrader, *Die Sirenen* (Berlin: 1868); J. E. Harrison, *Myths of the Odyssey*, "The Sirens," and *Journal of Hell. Soc.*, vi., 19.

Side by side with the direct personification of Death must be set such mythological beings as the Harpies and the Sirens, who belong to the allegorical part of Greek religion. Their functions, however, are not exclusively funeral in character. In poetic tradition the Harpies, often called the daughters of Typhon, are the image of the whirlwind, and in that capacity may be associated with the spirits of storms. The Sirens, on the other hand, have their part in the story of Ulysses. It is on the sea-shore that popular belief placed them, and so in some sort they may be regarded as goddesses of the sea. But in spite of the modifications they have undergone, the Harpies and Sirens had a common origin and a similar type, and stand in close relations with the gods of Death.

Their type in art was no doubt suggested to the Greeks by the human-headed bird which represented the soul of man in Egyptian art.[2] In investing the Harpies with this form, the Greeks embodied in vivid

[1] *Frag.*, 250 (Nauck's edit); *Dindorf*, 229.

[2] See L. Heuzey, *Catalogue des Figurines de Terre Cuite du Louvre*, p. 12.

shape the conception of the awful maidens, "the snatchers," who personified the rage of the whirlwind and its fatal breath. On the Lycian monument known

Fig. 116.—Fragment from Harpy Tomb (British Museum).

as the Harpy Tomb (fig. 116) they are represented as birds of prey, but of kindly and gentle aspect, with the heads and breasts of women, carrying off in their talons

the souls of the dead. Elsewhere, on vases and bas-reliefs, they appear as monuments on the tomb of the dead man. It is probable that as time went on their type became purely human, and in this way they grew to resemble other winged divinities. A good instance of the Harpy type of winged woman is offered by a vase from Ægina in the Berlin Museum (fig. 117),

Fig. 117.—Harpies, vase-painting (Berlin).

where the inscription *Αρεπυια* may be read by the side of two winged women advancing in rapid flight; the two figures form part of the scene of the slaying of the Gorgon by Perseus. Gorgons, Harpies, and Sirens are in their attributes and art form easily interchangeable; but poetry did not lose sight of their primitive shape. In Virgil the Harpies are still "birds with the faces of maidens; foul water drips from off

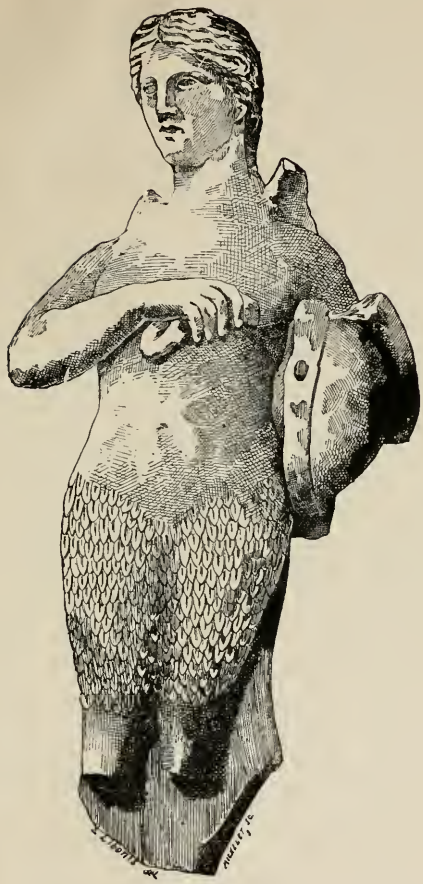

Fig. 118.—Siren from tomb (Central Museum, Athens).

their sides, their hands are armed with claws, and their countenance is ever pale with hunger." [1]

[1] *Æneid*, iii., 216.

The idea of the breath of the wind is also to be found in the conception of the Sirens, but not the violence of the whirlwind. Theirs is a musical and harmonious breath, whose charm is fatal to all who yield to it. Although legend associates the Sirens with sailors and the sea, their connection with funeral art recalls the origin of the type. A Cyprian terra-cotta in the Louvre shows them in a species of tomb, clearly alluding to a conception similar to that of the Greeks in later times. These goddesses, with a woman's bust, ending in the body of a bird, are placed on the funeral steles of the Greeks, either alone or mingling in scenes which place their funeral character beyond a doubt.[1] An Attic stele shows a Siren playing upon the lyre between two weeping figures. Sometimes the Siren stood on the top of the stele, as was the case with the marble fragment of Athenian work reproduced in fig. 118; sometimes she was carved in relief on the pediment. The instruments on which the Sirens play, such as the lyre, flute, or lute, allude to their functions as Muses of Death. Thus beside the pyre of Hephestion were placed the figures of Sirens, made hollow so as to conceal within them the singers of the funeral dirge. The small terra-cotta Sirens found in large numbers in the tombs at Myrrina are represented as tearing their hair and beating their breast for sorrow.

§ 3. Souls—The Psychostasia, or weighing of Souls.

The image of the soul, as has been said, was sometimes placed within the talons of the Harpies, as upon

[1] Pervanoglou, *Grabsteine*, p. 79.

the reliefs of the Harpy tomb from Xanthos. Greek imagination invested the soul itself with a tangible shape. This is not the place to discuss the question whether this idea was peculiar to Greece, or what was the exact nature of the constituents which, in the Greek fancy, made up the soul.[1] All that need be said is that some representations in art are to be explained by the special thought which continued to exist in the popular mind throughout the whole Hellenic period. The Greeks always regarded the soul, when outside the body, as a half material substance in the form of a little ghost, the eidolon, keeping the likeness of the body.[2] In the poems of Homer this idea is expressed with vivid and unexampled simplicity. The eidolon or ψυχή maintains a sort of faded life; the blood poured by Ulysses into the trench, in the scene of the *Nekyia*, attracts these colourless shapes, and when drunk imparts to them new vigour. In the twenty-fourth book of the *Odyssey*, when Hermes carries off the souls of the suitors, they follow him uttering little cries, and fluttering after him. "Even as bats in the depths of a mighty cavern flutter with shrill cries when one of them has fallen from the rock to which they all were hanging together."[3]

The representations of the soul on Greek monuments all start from this half materialistic conception. Vase-painters show the eidolon as a tiny winged figure, a miniature reproduction of the dead man. In battle

[1] See Alf. Maury, *Religions de la Grèce Antique*, i., p. 333 and foll.

[2] The Greek *eidolon* has some resemblance to the *bai* or *double* of Egyptian belief. See G. Perrot, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i., p. 129, and foll.

[3] *Odyssey*, xxiv., 1-10.

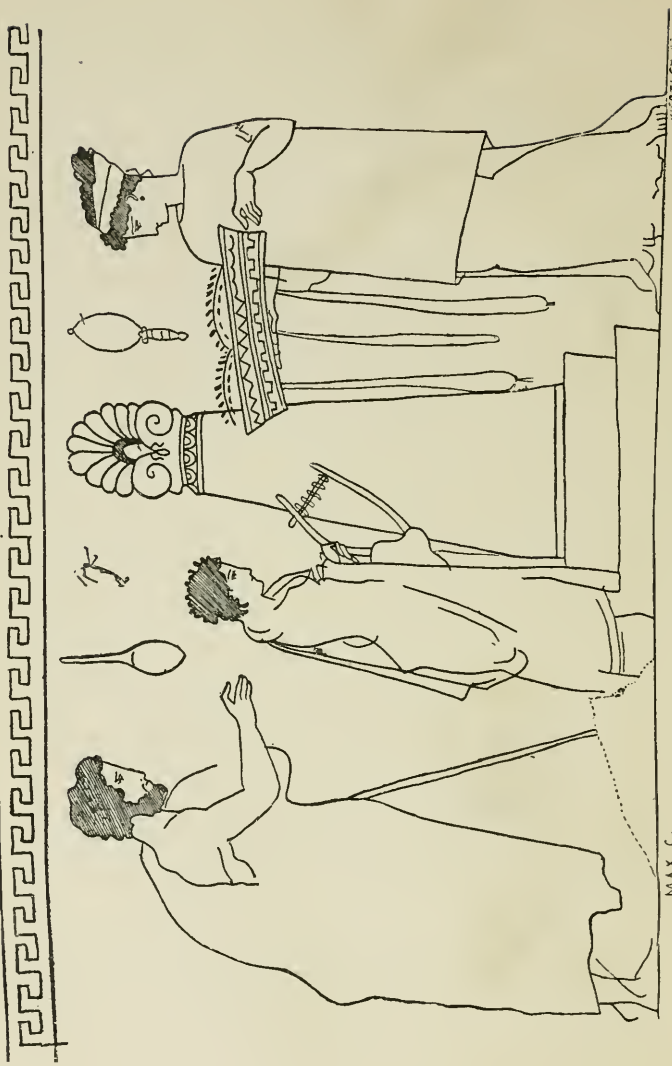

Fig. 119.—Attic lekythos (offerings at the tomb).

scenes the winged eidolon, armed like a hoplite, flutters over the body of the warrior which it has just left. On vase-paintings representing Hector dragged by Achilles round the tomb of Patroklos a little armed figure hovers over the tomb; this is the eidolon of Patroklos. A wall painting, described by Philostratus, showed the souls of Hippodameia's suitors fluttering round the chariot of Pelops. Sometimes the soul is carried off by winged spirits, Keres or Harpies, as on the bas-reliefs of the Xanthos monument already referred to. In a later period, during the fourth and third centuries, the Athenian painters of funeral lekythi give a slightly different view of the old type of the eidolon. Whether the scene represented be that of the laying out of the corpse, or the crossing in the ferry boat of the dead, or again the fulfilling of the ceremonies beside the stele (fig. 119), the eidolon of the dead man appears as a little naked and winged figure, hovering near the tomb, or over the body of the dead man.

Vase-paintings, recalling scenes from the heroic cycle, sometimes represent Hermes weighing in the scales of a balance the souls of the heroes (fig. 120). Pictures of the *Psychostasia*, or weighing of souls, are suggested by the passages in the Homeric poems, where Zeus weighs the fates of the combatants. "Zeus takes out his golden scales, and places in them the fates of Death that stretches men in the tomb, the fate of Achilles, and the fate of Hector, the tamer of horses."[1] But while in the poems of Homer Zeus weighs against one another the Fates or Keres, in paintings it is the souls themselves

[1] *Iliad*, xxii. 210-14. One of the lost tragedies of Æschylus was called the ψυχοστασία.

that are placed upon the scales of the balance. Without seeking to establish any connection between these scenes and the similar subjects known to us from the funeral rites of Egypt, it is impossible not to be struck by the resemblance. The *Psychostasia,* indeed, is the most striking of the scenes of judgment represented in Egyptian ritual; and there it is Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt, who holds the centre of the balance in the presence of Osiris, the judge of the *Amenthi.* But

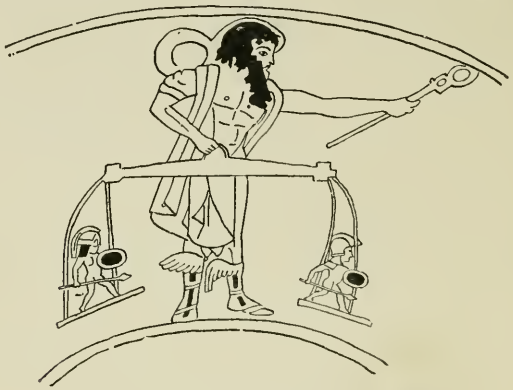

Fig. 120.—Psychostasia (vase-painting).

whereas the weighing of souls is one of the articles of Egyptian belief, in Greece it bears quite another character, and is not one of a number of scenes representing the progress of the soul in the regions of the lower world. If the evidence of art is to be trusted, the popular belief concerning the destiny of the soul after death was never very rigidly fixed. Official religion gave no theological dogma on the subject, which art could take hold of and reproduce regularly, and the sub-

jects carved upon funeral steles are a fertile source of controversy. But this is not the place to consider the Greek conception of a future life, nor to interpret the funeral monuments of the Greeks. The task before us now is to consider the method in which art, drawing its inspiration from myths and legends, represented the pageantry of the lower world, so often called up by the fancy of the poet.

CHAPTER II.

THE GODS OF THE LOWER WORLD.

Gerhard, "Die Griechische Unterwelt auf Vasenbildern," etc., *Arch. Zeitung*, 1843 and 1844; P. Hartwig, "Neue Unterwelts Darstellungen auf Griechischen Vasen," *Arch. Zeit.*, 1884, p. 254, taf. 18, 19. The three complete Lower Italy vases are published together by V. Valentin, *Orpheus und Herakles in der Unterwelt* (Berlin, 1865). J. E. Harrison, "Myth of the Descent into Hades," in *Myths of the Odyssey* (1882).

§ 1. The Lower World.

Mythological tradition concerning the dwelling-place of the dead underwent considerable alterations, and was far from being consistent even in the Homeric poems.[1] In the *Odyssey* the dead inhabit a dim region, beyond the stream of Ocean; while in the *Iliad*, Hades reigns over a subterranean realm, which communicates by means of passages with the dwelling-place of the living. The latter version prevailed when poetry had to become definite in its description of the lower world in treating of the journeys of Herakles, Orpheus, and Peirithöos in the home of the dead. Such definite descriptions supplied distinctive features to the artist, and enabled him to create a complete group of gods of the lower world. Pausanias says in so many words

[1] See the article by M. H. Martin on "Les Traditions Homériques et Hésiodiques sur le Séjour des Morts, *Annuaire de l'Association des Études Grecques*, 1878.

that in his paintings at Delphi, Polygnotus followed the traditions of the *Minyad* and the *Odyssey*. Conjecture only can be resorted to for the restoration of the scene of the *Nekyia*, with which Polygnotus is known to have adorned the walls of the Lesche. But the vase-paintings of a later period have made it possible to realize how Greek art conceived, as far as the main outline is concerned, the grouping of the chief gods of the lower world.

These vases are of Græco-Italic workmanship. The most important are the Canosa vase, at Munich (fig. 121), the Ruvo vase, at Carlsruhe, and the Altamura vase in the Naples Museum. They are very interesting, as they are all derived, with slight variations, from a common original, which yet has no similarity with the great composition of Polygnotus. The Altamura vase is of great importance because, as most of the figures are inscribed, it enables us to interpret the others. The Munich vase, in some respects the most complete of the series, is given in fig. 121. In the centre is a small Doric temple, which represents the home of Hades. Within it are Hades, or Plouton, seated on his throne, and by his side his wife Persephone. The rest of the composition falls, as is usual with these Lower Italy vases, into three tiers. At the top, on the right hand, Theseus takes leave of Peirithöos; near them is seated Dike (Justice), with a drawn sword. Below them are the three judges of Hades, Minos, Æacus, and Rhadamanthus, or according to some versions Triptolemus. The top left hand group is Megara with her two sons; below them Orpheus in Thracian dress plays on his lyre; near him a group

whose names must be left undetermined. Below, the centre is occupied by Herakles dragging away Cerberus; Hermes points the way to the upper world, and a Fury

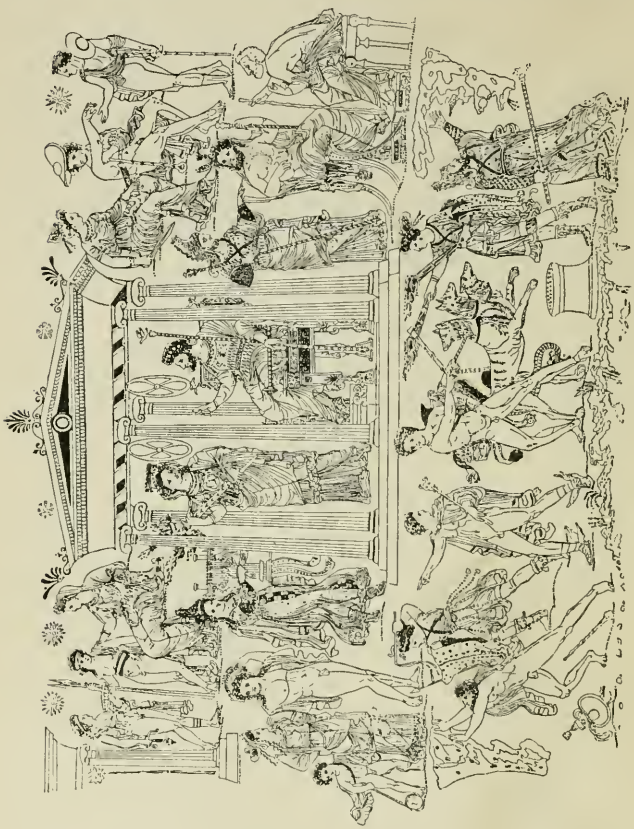

Fig. 121.—Underworld vase (Munich).

lights him. To the left Sisyphus upheaves the mighty rock, and to the right Tantalus in Phrygian dress seeks to catch the ever receding fruit.

As has been seen, all these are legendary characters, and there is no allusion of any kind to the fate of the ordinary souls, nor to their place in Tartarus, as in the Etruscan painting of the *Tomba dell' Orco* at Corneto, where some tiny figures representing the souls of the unknown dead are jumping and skipping about upon the branches of a tree that has lost its leaves.[1] It is possible that the Eleusinian mysteries exercised a certain influence over the representations of the lower world, and it is certain that the initiation into the mysteries involved some sort of scenic display, in which the palace of Hades suddenly appeared.[2] But though the possibility of this influence cannot be denied, poetic tradition is sufficient to explain such an artistic conception of Hades as appears on the Lower Italy vase, where the criminals of fable are grouped together, and the presence of Orpheus and Herakles recalls a cycle of well-known tales. Poetry enabled art to make a selection from among the figures appropriate to the lower world, just as after Orcagna Italian painters draw their inspirations from the descriptions by the poets of Hell.

But these groups by no means represent all the gods of the lower world, and they may be supplemented by investigating in greater detail, and from other sources, the aspect given by the artist to the figures with whom Greek fancy peopled the dusky realms of Hades.

[1] *Mon. Inediti dell' Inst.*, vol. viii., pl. xiii.-xv. See also Helbig, *Annali*, 1870. The painting bears other obvious traces of the influence of Greek mythology.

[2] See M. P. Decharme, *Mythologie de la Grèce Antique*, p. 364, and foll.

§ 2. Charon.

Belief in the rivers of Hades involved the conception of a boatman, whose duty it was to ferry the souls across in his bark. But Charon does not appear till late either in art or literature. He became one of the characters of the comic stage at Athens; he was introduced by Aristophanes and described by Lucian as an ill-tempered old man, with a face overgrown with hair. He seems to have been one of the favourite figures of popular legends. His image is to be found upon funeral monuments, which have kept alive the remembrance of the cherished beliefs of the multitude[1] better than the works of art of a higher class. Charon is represented on one of the steles of the Kerameikos, at Athens, and his ferry-boat is one of the subjects occurring upon the white lekythi of Attica.[2] But as in the case of Thanatos, the repulsive features are very much softened down, and there is nothing horrible in the Charon of the Attic lekythi (fig. 122). Clad in a short tunic, and wearing the high cap of the Greek sailor, he leans on an oar, standing in the bows of his boat ready to ferry over the river the dead who are waiting upon the shore.

A very different figure is that of the Etruscan Charon, who is conceived as the embodiment of violent death, and the executioner in charge of the

[1] Charontas is constantly mentioned in the ballads of the modern Greeks.

[2] See the article by M. Mylonas, *Bull. de Corresp. Hell.*, vol. i., 1877, p. 39; and for the whole subject see F. von Duhn, "Darstellungen von Charon," *Arch. Zeit.*, 1885, p. 1. But note that the terra-cotta published taf. 1 is now acknowledged to be a forgery.

punishments inflicted in Hades.[1] Paintings in the necropolis of Vulci and of Corneto frequently represent this hideous being with a grimace upon his countenance, a hooked nose, and a mouth full of huge teeth. Equipped with a mallet, he is beating his victims, or torturing them by the aid of a fork or a burning torch.

Fig. 122.—Charon (Attic lekythos).

Etruscan art, with its love of the horrible, is fond of representing this image of the demon of Death, who may be compared with the Eurynomos of Polygnotus. But the Greek Charon is found only on a few monuments, and then his characteristics are softened.

[1] See Ambrosch, *De Charonte Etrusco* (Breslau, 1837), and J. E. Harrison, *Myths of the Odyssey*, p. 144.

§ 3. Hades-Pluton and Serapis.

Braun, *Kunstmythologie*; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der Alten Kunst*, ii., Nos. 851-64.

The reason why the ruler of the lower world is less often represented in the sculptor's art than are the other gods is doubtless to be found in his mythological character. Hades, one of whose attributes is the *κυνέη*, a sort of head covering which makes him invisible, is the Unseen God, reigning over a dim world. He only appears in the light of day in the myth of the rape of Kore. Thus, setting aside monuments of that series and vase-paintings representing his marriage with Persephone, or the general view of the lower world,[1] there are few statues or bas-reliefs in which Hades can be recognized with any certainty. Vase-painters portray him in the vigour of age, bearded, nude to the waist, with much the same general aspect as Zeus; but, as will be seen, there is no need for them to accentuate his distinguishing points, for the scene in which he appears renders all ambiguity impossible. Speaking generally, art seems to have conceived him as a sort of lower world Zeus, and to have given him a type and attitude suggestive of those of the ruler of Olympus. He is marked off from Zeus by his more sombre aspect, his more solid build, the disorder of his hair and beard, and an expression of something like brutality. Of all the monuments of sculpture, the most certain representation seems to be furnished by a statue of the Villa Borghese (fig. 123). Clad in the chiton and himation, Hades is seated upon his throne,

[1] See Welcker, *Annali dell' Inst.*

with Cerberus at his feet.[1] This copy probably made

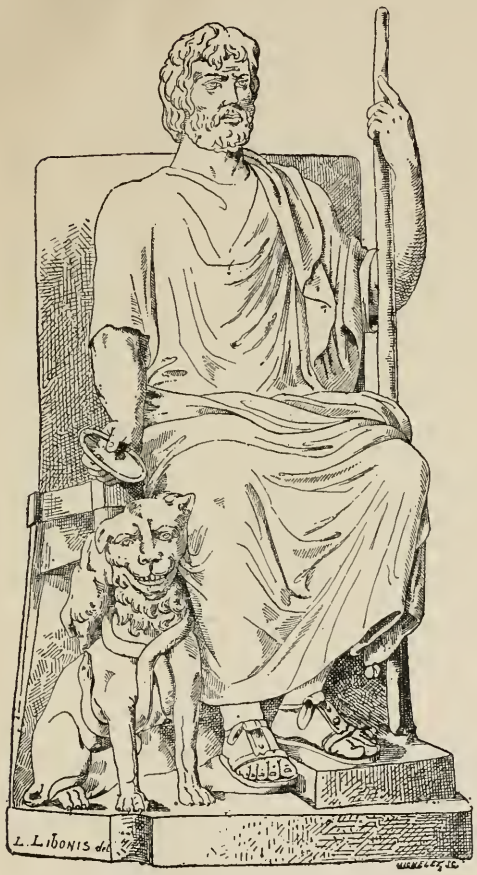

Fig. 123.—Hades (Villa Borghese).

under the Antonines from a Greek original, has made

[1] The sceptre and Patera, as well as the hands, are modern restorations.

it possible to identify Hades on some other monuments, where the sullen expression of the face seems purposely exaggerated. Among these are the engraved gem of which an impression has been preserved by Dolce, and in particular the marble head of the Chigi collection, which is looked on by Visconti as the only antique sculpture of any authority for determining the type of the god. This fragment, found in the excavations at Porcigliano, is of very careful workmanship. The untended hair and beard, the sunken eyes and deeply furrowed brow, carry out the idea that the Greeks may well have had of the "pitiless and terrible" god, as he is called in Orphic poetry.

The same general features were preserved in Etruscan and Roman art. Owing to the love of funeral symbolism developed under the rule of the Antonines, the group of Hades and Persephone is constantly represented upon the bas-reliefs of sarcophagi and on the paintings of tombs. Hades sits upon a throne, beside Persephone, in a majestic attitude; the lower world pair are very much like Zeus and Hera, but the head of Persephone is always veiled. Sometimes, as in the painting of the tomb of the Nasones, Hades' mantle is also brought over his head, and so suggests the invisibility attributed to the god of the lower world. On other monuments, as, for instance, on a coin of Sardis of the Imperial epoch, representing the rape of Kore, the mantle, caught by the wind, curves above the god's head, and a snake, the regular attribute of the Chthonian deities, darts beneath the feet of the horses that draw the chariot.

In Greek mythology, and possibly under the influence

of the Eleusinian ritual,[1] Hades is sometimes regarded as a beneficent god; it is Hades-Pluton who makes the fruits of the earth grow. This function of Hades accounts for the attributes which on several monuments are placed in his hands; such as the cornucopia in some painted vases at Naples and in London, and possibly some flowers on a terra-cotta from Epizephyrian Locri, where some archæologists have recognized Hades seated beside Persephone, who holds a cock and some ears of wheat. But this aspect of the god has left very slight traces in art, whereas in religious belief Hades is the formidable god who suggests only the idea of death.

The reader has already seen the facility with which the Greek mind assimilated certain foreign gods with the Hellenic gods. During the so-called Hellenistic period a divinity of Egyptian origin, Serapis, was introduced into the Greek Pantheon, and borrowed some of the features of Hades. The worship of this god, very popular at Alexandria, soon spread rapidly through the Greek and Roman world, as is proved by monuments and inscriptions; at Delos the foreign deity had his worshippers, just as had Apollo, the great god of the island. According to a story recorded by Clement of Alexandria, the first statue placed in the temple of Serapis, built in the part of Alexandria called Rhakotis, was of Greek workmanship. It was a statue of Pluton, made by Bryaxis of Athens, and brought from Sinope. The inference to be drawn from this story is no doubt as Professor Brunn has said, that Bryaxis was the Greek artist who fixed the type of Hades-Serapis. So

[1] See Foucart, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, 1883, p. 387.

it was during the period when Scopas was at work that Greek art began to represent this god of indeterminate character, who partook at once of Zeus and Hades, and whose mysterious ritual had a strange fascination. The plastic type of Serapis showed curious combinations. Some of his busts, such, for instance, as the colossal head in basalt of the Villa Albani, recall the type of Zeus, but the expression is less serene; on the other hand, certain attributes seem borrowed directly from the Greek Hades. Serapis has beside him a sort of Cerberus, with the head of a lion, and on either side of the neck of the lion are the heads respectively of a wolf and a dog. His unfailing attribute is the modius, or calathos, upon his head (fig. 124); this is enough to distinguish him clearly from Hades.

Fig. 124.—Hades (coin).

§ 4. The Erinyes—Hecate.

E. Gerhard, "Die Dreifache Hekate," *Arch. Zeitung*, 1843; Petersen, "Die Dreifältige Hekate," in the *Arch. Epigraphische Mitth. aus Œsterreich*, 4th year.

It has been seen that the Erinyes appear in the general group of the lower world gods, and although their power is also exercised upon the earth, artistic tradition constantly places them in scenes from Tartarus. They are the instruments of the justice of Hades and the judges of the dead. Under the names of Penalties (*Ποιναί*) and Madnesses (*Μανίαι*), which latter was their regular appellation in the Arcadian legends, they

take part in the punishment of the criminals celebrated in mythology; they lash Sisyphus with their whips, and turn Ixion's wheel. The importance of the Erinyes in the religion of the Greeks can only be briefly referred to here; the *Eumenides*[1] of Æschylus shows them as avenging goddesses, the incorruptible guardians of moral law. It is probable that art followed dramatic poetry in investing the Erinyes with a severe and impressive aspect, the terrible side of which was gradually softened. But the most certain representations of the divinities now existing are in vase-paintings which, being the art of the people, are faithful to the common view, and conceive the goddesses as objects of terror. In vase-paintings, then, the Erinyes appear as female figures, wearing short tunics, and hunting-shoes upon their feet; they look as if they were keen-footed and swift to pursue. Often they have long bird-like wings. Snakes are twined among their locks, and wind around their arms. In the scene of Orestes tormented by the Erinyes they usually pursue him with coiled snakes in their hands.

Such scenes as these suggest reminiscences of the treatment of Greek tragedy; but ethical ideas alone fail to explain the connection of a goddess like Hecate with the divinities of the lower world, and account must be made with a certain love of mysticism, largely influenced by external ideas introduced from abroad. If the lunar aspect of Hecate only is considered she is closely connected with Artemis; and as far as the facts of the

[1] For the agrarian origin of the Semnæ or Eumenides and their peaceful type in art, see J. E. Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, chapter on Areopagus.

stories are concerned the myths of Artemis and of Hecate must be grouped together. But in popular belief, which exercises a much more powerful influence over art than does the theogony of the learned, Hecate stands in special relations with the lower world. The rites of her worship involve magical ceremonies, she presides over incantations and the calling up of spirits. Closely bound with the Orphic doctrines, her worship was very popular in some parts of Greece, and the oldest images of Hecate are unmistakably cultus images. At Ægina, where she had many worshippers, honours were paid to a xoanon of Hecate, the work of Myron,[1] of which the characteristic points are reproduced upon the coinage of the island. A coin of Ægina (fig. 125), bearing a bust of Fulvia Plautilla on the obverse, shows Hecate on the reverse. The goddess appears in the form of a figure with three heads made up of the union of three bodies; the heads wear the calathos.[2] Alcamenes seems to have modified this type in his Hecate Epipyrgidia, dedicated near the temple of the Wingless Victory on the Acropolis, and to have expressed the idea of the triple goddess by representing three women, possibly leaning against a central column. This is certainly the form in which the lunar goddess appears in a series of monuments all coming from the same original, such as the bronze of Arolsen, the bronze of the Capitol, and the marbles at Leyden,

Fig. 125.—Hecate (coin of Ægina).

[1] Pausanias, ii., 22.

[2] See a small bronze figure found at Ægina. Stackelberg, *Græber der Hellenen*, pl. 72, 6; J. E. Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, pp. 372-80.

Munich, and Venice. In this type the attributes of Hecate are long torches, resting on the ground, fruits, and a cup; often, too, the dog, an animal specially sacred to her, appears beside her. Later art assigns other attributes to Hecate, and emphasizes her character of lower world goddess. In her six hands she holds short torches, a sword, keys, a dagger, a scourge and snakes. On a coin of Aizani her hair consists of twining serpents. But sculptors understood how to combine respect for mythological tradition with the necessities of art. In the bas-reliefs of the Gigantomachia, on the Pergamene altar, Hecate, seen from behind and fighting, looks like a single figure, and it requires some attention to make out behind the bold outline of the goddess the two heads and four arms which the artist has skilfully concealed in very low relief.

It has been shown in the preceding chapters that funeral monuments,[1] during the period of good Greek art, give very little help in the study of the types of the gods of the lower world, whose images are certainly affected rather by poetic tradition than by religious belief. It is not till Græco-Roman times that they appear upon sarcophagi, when art sought also in other legends for scenes that would symbolize a future life. But this is not the place for dealing with the subject of sarcophagi. The Dionysiac scenes, for instance, so frequently to be found upon them, have no connection whatever with the representation in art of the gods of the lower world.

[1] For the whole subject of the underworld deities on the Sparta grave reliefs, and their influence on later Athenian monuments, see J. E. Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, chapter on the Kerameikos.

BOOK V.

THE GODS OF HUMANITY; THE HEROES.

CHAPTER I.

THE GODS OF BIRTH AND HEALTH.

EILEITHYIA.—ASKLEPIOS (ESCULAPIUS) AND HYGIEIA.

Von Sallet, *Asklepios und Hygieia* (Berlin, 1878); W. Wroth, "Asklepios," *Numismatic Chronicle*, ii., 1888, pp. 1-51, and *J.H.S.*, iv., p. 46. For new light cast on the origin of the god by the excavations at Epidaurus, see *Isyllus von Epidaurus*, by Wilamowitz Mœllendorf.

THE deities who preside over human action form a separate group. Although the destiny of mankind depended primarily upon the will of Zeus, certain secondary powers were regarded as the agents of the lord of Olympus, and Greek fancy invested them, as it did the gods, with distinct individualities. Of these divinities, those who had to do with physical life were widely worshipped, their ritual was popular, their images numerous, and their characteristics marked, if not varied. They did not remain mere ethical or poetical ideas.

Eileithyia is the goddess who presides over the birth of men as she does over that of gods. Reference has already been made to the vase representing the

birth of Athena; the older vases follow the Homeric tradition, and show more than one Eileithyia. Later these various Eileithyias are reduced to one person, who is sometimes confused with other goddesses, and lends her name to Artemis or Hera. But Eileithyia has an individuality of her own; the goddess of birth has her sanctuaries, and her cultus images, worshipped by women. Eileithyia had a temple at Athens, where the women were wont to congregate. At Ægium, also, the statue of the goddess was an old wooden image, to which Damophon, of Messene, a contemporary of Lysippus, had added a marble head and limbs.[1] This statue is, perhaps, reproduced on the coinage of the city, where the goddess is shown, clad in a long robe, holding up her right hand, and grasping a torch. Pausanias, in the manner of his times, ascribed an allegorical significance to this last attribute: "It is Eileithyia who brings children forth into the light." There is but little variation in the type; a simple form is suited to an image meant for popular worship, and art reserves its powers for gods of another class. Although Eileithyia early attained to a distinct personality, there is little doubt that, like Nike, she was at first an attribute of whatever local deity was powerful. Hera, Artemis Demeter, even Aphrodite, perform the functions of Eileithyia.

Asklepios,[2] the god of health, derived his healing science, according to the later tradition, from his

[1] Pausanias, vii., 23, 5.

[2] For a different view of the origin of the god, and the development of his type, see *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, chapter on Asklepios.

father Apollo. But though the importance of his worship grew in Greece, in his famous sanctuaries in Tricca, Cos, Pergamos, Asklepios was at first only a hero, and according to one view it was not till later that he attained to the honours of godhead. Archaic art once, at least, represented him young and beardless. In the chryselephantine statue made for Sicyon, Kalamis followed the old tradition, and represented him without a beard, leaning on a staff, and carrying in his hand a fir cone. It is not certain when the older type, which eventually prevailed, was first introduced; it is, however, this later type which appears in most of the existing statues. Otfried Müller attributes the innovation to an artist of the Pergamene school, Phyromachos, who executed a figure of Asklepios, set up in the Nikephorion, at Pergamos. But before that date, the handicraftsmen of the fourth century were familiar with the classical type of the physician god, as is clearly shown by the ex-votos found on the site of the Asklepieion, at Athens. The school of Pheidias, in creating the ideal of Zeus, no doubt also popularised the new type of Asklepios, which resembles the type of Zeus rather than any other. In art (see fig. 126) the god of medicine is a sort of milder Zeus; the expression of his face, sometimes beardless, is serene and merciful; his mighty breast is bare, and the himation, thrown across his shoulders, drapes the lower part of the figure. He rests upon a sceptre, or a knotted stick, and a snake coils around his feet. Such is the type reproduced upon the coins of Pergamos, in the group in which he appears in

Fig. 126.—Youthful Asklepios.

conjunction with Hygieia and Telesphoros,[1] and in the Florentine statue, which may be directly derived from the work of Phyromachos.

Fig. 127.—Ex-voto to Asklepios (Athens).

The ex-votos found in Greece, in particular, during the excavation of the Asklepieion, at Athens show

[1] For Telesphoros see W. Wroth, *J.H.S.*, iii., p. 283.

the god in very varied circumstances[1] (see fig. 127). Sometimes he is welcoming a family of suppliants who are advancing to implore his aid and bringing up to an altar the victims destined for the sacrifice; elsewhere he is approaching a sick man. On another series of votive reliefs, the interpretation of which lends itself to discussion, Asklepios is half reclining upon a couch, holding a rhyton; before him are dishes arranged on a table, as if he were accepting the feast offered him by the suppliants, represented in the corner of the slab. But though the meaning of these scenes is sometimes uncertain, there is no doubt that they show the regular type of Asklepios; the carvers of these marble slabs always represent the god as a bearded man, with a kindly expression.

The secondary personages grouped round Asklepios can only be briefly mentioned here. The spirit of convalescence, Telesphoros, worshipped chiefly at Pergamos, is represented as a child wrapped in a cloak. The various members of his family are also represented with Asklepios, as, for instance, on the relief found at Loukou, near Nauplia,[2] where he is accompanied by the children mentioned by Aristides the orator.[3] First come two young men, his sons, Podaleiros and Machaon, then the group of the three goddesses, his daughters, Iaso, Panakeia, and Aigle, and behind, in low relief, a goddess, who may be either Hygieia, or the wife of Asklepios, Epione.

[1] See the article on the ex-votos of the Asklepieion by M. P. Girard, *L'Asclépieion d'Athènes d'après de Récentes Découvertes*, p. 97 and foll.

[2] See O. Lüders, *Annali dell' Inst.*, 1875, *tav. d'ag.*, M. N.

[3] *Orat.*, vii., 26, p. 79.

Hygieia is often represented beside the god on ex-votos as well as alone. She appears as a strong young maiden, holding in her hand a patera, from out which a snake is drinking. As the type is not very clearly defined, the name of Hygieia has been bestowed with no great certainty on a considerable number of ancient statues. Among the least doubtful may be mentioned the Cassel statue, found at Ostia, and the Vatican statue, the head of which possibly really belongs to a statue of Athena-Hygieia. Hygieia was, no doubt, originally an attribute of Athena. Athena-Hygieia had a statue on the Acropolis, close to the Propylæa, the basis of which yet remains.[1]

[1] See J. E. Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, p. 389, fig. 21.

CHAPTER II

THE GODS OF MORAL AND SOCIAL LIFE.

§ 1. The Fates—Tyche, Nemesis, the Agathodæmon.

For Tyche see P. Gardner, "Countries and Cities in Ancient Art," *Journal Hell. Soc.*, ix., No. 1, 1888, p. 47.

The gods of moral life are less characteristically defined than any other deities. The reason is obvious; they are at first regarded by art as mere allegorical figures, whose meaning is fixed by their surroundings. In the best period of art, when the love of form was the first thought of the artist, allegorical figures were extremely simple. The desire to attract the attention of the spectator by bringing emblems into prominence arose later, when the learned art of the decadence took delight in far-fetched symbolism. Thus it comes about that the monuments in which the gods of moral life can be most clearly identified belong mainly to the Græco-Roman period.

This idea of the Fates (Moiræ) was too abstract to provide early plastic art with the elements of a clearly defined type; and few monuments of Greek style exist in which the Fates can be recognised with anything like certainty. Some archæologists would give the name of Fates to the magnificent group of three seated women which fills the right hand angle of the east pediment of the Parthenon; but this interpretation is losing

ground in archæological favour, for the three figures at first supposed to be closely united, are now known to be separable into a group of two and an isolated figure. The same reservation of judgment is advisable in the case of the three women represented on the reliefs of the Borghese altar. It is a pure conjecture of Welcker's to call these figures, holding sceptres surmounted by pomegranates, the Fates.[1] A more certain group is that on the well-known puteal at Madrid. The traditional group of the three sisters, each with her special attribute, is largely due to the carvers of sarcophagi. Roman symbolism represented the Fates engaged upon their appointed task; Clotho holds the distaff, from which is wound off the thread of destiny; Atropos, standing beside a globe, reads from the scroll the decrees of Fate, and Lachesis casts the lot.

Like the Fates, Nemesis is an allegorical figure, whose divine character developed late; the idea of the wrath of God, which she personifies, is a purely ethical conception. But Nemesis became a separate divinity, and had temples of her own, of which the most famous was the sanctuary of Rhamnos in Attica; here she was represented holding in her hand the branch of an apple tree, and wearing the stephanos upon her head. But if the stories about the Rhamnos statue are to be believed, her type in art cannot have been very distinctive. According to Pliny, the statue was the work of Agoracritus, and originally represented Aphrodite, herself the eldest of the Fates. The Parian sculptor, failing to win the prize in a competition, changed his Aphrodite into

[1] M. Fröhner, on the other hand, would call them Eumenides (*Sculpture Antique du Louvre*, p. 6).

a Nemesis, and sold her to the people of Rhamnos. According to another version, Pheidias himself made the statue, and signed it with the name of Agoracritus out of friendship. One fact at least is certain, that in the time of Pheidias the type of Nemesis was not yet fixed. Later, the goddess is characterized by the head-dress known as the polos and by her gesture; her right hand is held before her mouth, with one finger on her lips, as though to command silence. Several coins of Smyrna (fig. 128), belonging to imperial times, thus represent her upon a chariot drawn by gryphons, with the nymph Adrasteia at her side. Themis, who is sometimes joined to her, is known only in vase-paintings.

Fig. 128.—Nemesis (coin of Smyrna).

Tyche, the goddess of Fortune, is better represented in art, and at least the origin of her type is known. One of the early masters, Boupalos, was the first to show her wearing the polos, and holding in her hand the horn of the goat Amalthea, which became later the cornucopia;[1] the statue of Boupalos was at Smyrna. The beneficent character attributed to Tyche is further emphasized by the epithet Agathe (good) which was given her. "Good fortune" was worshipped at Athens, and in the fourth century the decrees of the Athenian people were all passed under her auspices. Praxiteles represented her twice; one of his statues was in a temple at Megara, the other,

[1] Pausanias, iv., 30, 6.

carried to Rome in later times, was no doubt the one which was near the Prytaneum at Athens. After the days of Alexander, Tyche often personified the protecting deity of a city, and the name and place, added as a distinguishing title, gave her a special sense in each country. Coin engravers are fond of reproducing Tyche, whose image is usually on the obverse of the coin; on the coins of Antioch (fig. 129) the Tyche of the city appears as a woman crowned with towers, wrapped in a long veil, and holding in her hand a palm branch, or some ears of wheat. This coin type was no doubt suggested by the statue of the Tyche of Antioch, the work of Eutychides of Sicyon, of which there is a marble copy in the Vatican Museum. The goddess is seated on a rock, an ear of corn in her hand; at her feet a young river-god half rises from out the water —the Orontes, who was represented in the original group. Such large decorative statues as this suggest a comparison with the allegorical figures personifying cities in the present day, and have precisely the same meaning. But the Greek imagination only produced them at a late period, when art pandered to a taste for theatrical display. In the fourth century allegories were much more simply treated; a city or district was figured as a young woman, with no attributes, the sole thought of the sculptor being for grace and purity of outline.

Fig. 129.—Tyche (coin of Antioch).

The Agathodæmon, a species of beneficent spirit, is often associated with Tyche, and both were worshipped in common in a small temple at Lebadeia, near the oracle of Trophonios. But it is difficult to determine the type in art of the Agathodæmon ; nothing is known of the way in which Praxiteles represented him, and of Euphranor's statue all that is known is that in one hand he held a patera, in the other ears of corn and poppies. It is probable that he was represented in sculpture as a young man, perhaps something after the fashion of the Kairos (Opportunity) of Polycleitus, but some very late terra-cottas show him in the aspect of a fat Silenus, having for his attributes the patera and the cornucopia;[1] near him is a female figure, whom Gerhard calls Tyche. But so vague a conception as that of the Agathodæmon offers no clearly-defined type to the artist; it would be hazardous to confine him within the limits of a fixed form, and when he is represented at all the artist has no guide but his own imagination.

§ 2. Nike (Victory), Eirene (Peace), and Ploutos (Wealth).

P. Knapp, *Nike in der Vasenmalerei* (Tübingen, 1876).

The part played by Nike in Greek poetry was not what might be expected from the frequency with which she was represented in art. Learned mythologists included the goddess of victory in the scheme of the Greek divinities, Hesiod and Bacchylides made her the daughter of the Titan Pallas, but usually she was regarded as a sort of attendant or emanation of the

[1] See Gerhard's essay, "Ueber Agathodæmon und Bona Dea,' in the *Akad. Abhandlungen*, xii.

great gods, in particular of Zeus and Athena. In Attic tradition she was often confused with Athena, whose warlike might she personified; her name became an epithet of Athena, who was sometimes called by poets Parthenos-Nike,[1] and the goddess worshipped at Athens as Nike was in fact no other than Athena. Later her individuality grew more distinct; she undoubtedly had a separate ritual of her own in Roman

Fig. 130.—Nike (vase-painting).

times, and the inscriptions in the theatre of Dionysus mention a priest of the Olympian Nike.[2] These transformations are of more interest in the history of mythology than in that of its representations in art, and seem moreover to have little effect upon the type of Nike, which was fixed at an early time. The

[1] Menander, *Frag.*, 738.

[2] *Corp. Inscr. Attic.*, iii., 1, 245.

goddess was at first represented simply as a youthful maiden, and the first artist to give her wings was Archermos, an archaic artist working before the fiftieth Olympiad (576 B.C.). Thenceforth wings were an almost invariable attribute of Nike. Kalamis made her without wings in an ex-voto dedicated by the Messenians at Olympus; but that, as Pausanias says, was in order to imitate the Attic xoanon of Athena Nike.

Owing to her undefined functions, Nike takes part in scenes of widely different kinds, and is one of the commonest figures on vases (see fig. 130). She has a recognised place in subjects drawn from religious legend; sometimes she pours a libation for the gods assembled on Olympus, and then she is not very distinct from Hebe; sometimes again she flies beside Zeus or Athena in the combat of the Gigantomachia, and it is she who brings to the victorious Herakles a crown and fillets. Moreover she appears in scenes from the life of men, like a sort of female Eros. In these cases she personifies an actual victory, won in a gymnastic or musical competition. On a vase from Nola, for instance, she is pouring a libation before a tripod in honour of a victorious poet. The same differences of function are to be found in the representations of Nike in sculpture, but only the more important can be mentioned here. In the chryselephantine statues of Pheidias she appears as an attribute of Zeus and Athena, but sculpture often represents her alone, and her image sanctifies the memory of very real victories. The people of Messene and Naupactus dedicated a Nike at Olympus after the affair at Sphacteria, and German excavations have discovered this

Fig. 131.—Nike of Samothrace (Louvre).

statue, the work of Paionios of Mende. The sculptor represented Nike as a vigorous maiden with long wings, whose hands, now broken off, no doubt held a crown and a palm branch; the body is thrown boldly forward, and the modelling of the form is plainly shown under folds of the drapery driven back against the limbs by the wind. After the fifth century no modifications were introduced into the type as treated by Paionios; but Nike is not always conceived as a solitary figure. Just as the Loves are multiplied round Aphrodite, so several Victories appear in the beautiful bas-reliefs of the temple of Athena-Nike on the Acropolis at Athens; some are leading the bulls for sacrifice, one, in an exquisitely graceful attitude, is loosing her sandal, another fastening up a trophy. The fine Nike of Samothrace in the Louvre[1] (fig. 131), found at Samothrace, on the other hand, is a solitary figure, conceived on much the same lines as the Victory at Olympia. Erect on the prow of a trireme Nike steps forward in triumph; her drapery floats round her, blown by the sea breeze, her right hand held a trumpet, her left a trophy. The same type appears on the reverse of some coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes; and it is reasonable to suppose that the Victory of Samothrace was dedicated by the son of Antigonus after his victory in 306 B.C. In this case the Louvre statue would be a work of the end of the fourth century, perhaps belonging to the school of Scopas. Under the Macedonian kings the image of

[1] Found in March, 1863, by M. Champoiseau, French Consul at Adrianople. See M. Rayet's account, "Victoire, Statue en Marbre trouvée à Samothrace," in the *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, 2nd edition.

Nike is constantly reproduced by the coin engraver; the symbol was popular with the warrior kings who divided the realm of Alexander.

In Roman times the ever-increasing love of symbolism gave a type in art to such abstract ideas as honour, loyalty, and modesty, and these divinities had their statues and temples at Rome. Greek sculpture seems not to have represented such abstract ideas, except in the case of the goddess of Peace, Eirene, whose individuality was fixed at a very early date. Originally Eirene is one of the Horai, the daughters of Themis, and is sometimes found in the troop of Dionysus. As the peacemaking goddess, she was worshipped at Athens, and sacrifices were offered upon her altar. In the fourth century, an Athenian sculptor, the elder Kephisodotos, represented her holding in her arms the child Ploutos, the personification of riches. The statue stood in the Kerameikos. A copy of the work of Kephisodotos is to be found in a marble group at Munich (fig. 132); Eirene appears as a woman clad in the ancient Greek chiton, and Ploutos no doubt held the cornucopia,[1] which is his attribute on the coins of Cyzicus, reproducing the group of the Athenian master. Poetic legend, as is well known, made the god of Wealth blind, as he appears in the play of Aristophanes. But late artists allow themselves great freedom in their treatment of the allegorical god of Wealth; sometimes he appears as a winged boy, and the painters of vases, who are not afraid of the most subtle devices, give him for a comrade Chrysos, the personification of gold itself, also a child. This forms the subject of an

[1] The urn that he carries in the Munich group is a modern restoration.

Fig. 132. — Eirene and Ploutos (Glyptothek, Munich).

œnochoë with gilded ornaments in the Museum of Berlin.

But it is impossible to follow the Greek artist any further into the region of allegory, where his fancy finds infinite scope to disport itself. Every manifestation of human power might have been represented in a living form, but such creations have no fixed type, and so do not come within the subject treated in this volume; they belong to the debateable ground which separates mythology, properly so called, from allegory.

CHAPTER III.

THE HEROES.

Article "Heroes" in *Roscher's Lexicon.*

The Greeks gave the name of heroes not only to beings superior to men, sprung from the union of a mortal woman with a god, or a goddess with a man, but also to various actual or legendary persons whose origin was not divine. The group of Heroes includes the demi-gods, such as Herakles, just as much as the warriors of the Trojan cycle, or the founders of the cities of Greece. Every country had its heroes, and their adventures furnished inexhaustible subjects for the artist. A study, however brief, of all these groups of heroes would exceed the limits of this volume. But among all these legends, while some have remained the special property of the art of the handicraftsman, such as the vase-painter, others on the contrary have supplied suggestions to the sculptor, and the heroes so treated have a well-marked type; it is this class only that will be treated of briefly here.

§ 1. Herakles (Hercules).

Stephani, *Der Ausruhende Herakles* (St. Petersburg, 1854).

Anything less like the robust athlete so frequently represented by the school of Lysippus can hardly be conceived than the Herakles of early art. The

xoana of the Theban hero show him fully armed like a Greek hoplite. A Rhodian poet of the seventh century, Pisander of Camirus, was the first to describe the vigorous figure of Herakles, as known from archaic monuments, and give him as attributes the club and the lion's skin; in earlier days he carried the bow. The idea may be a pure poetic fancy, but it is more probable that the poet of Camirus borrowed some touches from Oriental monuments. Some of the representations of the Egyptian god Bes, who appears as a strong and muscular figure, clad in the skin of an animal, and holding a lioness,[1] may have supplied certain elements to the Greek Herakles;[2] on the other hand, the Phœnician Melkarth, who in his turn was modified to suit the Greek hero, may have had originally some influence on the creation of the type.

Fig. 133.—Herakles (coin of Thasos).

But without entering upon what is mere guesswork, it may be safely asserted that the archaic type of Herakles was fixed after the seventh century. On the oldest metopes of Selinos he has not yet got his regular attributes, and the sword is his only weapon. But the artist soon gave him a characteristic costume and a clearly-defined type, known from black figured vases, coins of Thasos (fig. 133), and the figure of Herakles shooting the bow on the east pediment of Ægina. The hero is beardless; he wears the skin of the Nemean lion, with the head over his brow after

[1] See the colossal statue found at Cyprus, *Gazette Archéologique*, 1879, pl. xxxi

[2] See Heuzey, *Catalogue des Figurines du Louvre*, p. 76.

the fashion of a vizor, the cheek pieces being made by the hanging open jaws of the beast. Of his original armour, he often retains the leather jerkin and the sword.

In the fifth century, Herakles is conceived of as a full-grown hero with muscular limbs; he ceases, as a rule, to carry the bow, and uniformly wields the club; at the same time the hero puts off his armour, and even his lion's skin, and appears wholly nude. On the Olympian metopes, the sculptor has adopted this later type, which was only taken up by vase-painters some time later; for in the best vases of the severe style .Herakles still wears the lion skin. Lysippus and his followers designed the type of the hero as it was finally accepted by art. Ancient writers tell us of several statues of Herakles executed by Lysippus, besides the complete group of the Twelve Labours, which he made for a temple of Alyzia in Acarnania. The colossal statue of Tarentum, described by the Byzantine writer Nicetas, represented him on a seat, covered by the skin of the Nemean lion. Elsewhere Lysippus portrayed him overcome by an Eros, who was despoiling him of his arms; and in a third statue, subsequently taken to Rome, Herakles was seated holding a cup, as though engaged in feasting: this was the Herakles-Epitrapezios. The popularity of the Sicyonian school at the Renascence of Greek art, which took place about 138 B.C., caused the reproduction, more or less accurately, of the statues of Lysippus, and many of these have survived. To mention only the most celebrated, the Herakles-Epitrapezios[1] may possibly

[1] For Herakles-Epitrapezios see A. S. Murray, *Journal Hell. Soc.*, iii., p 240.

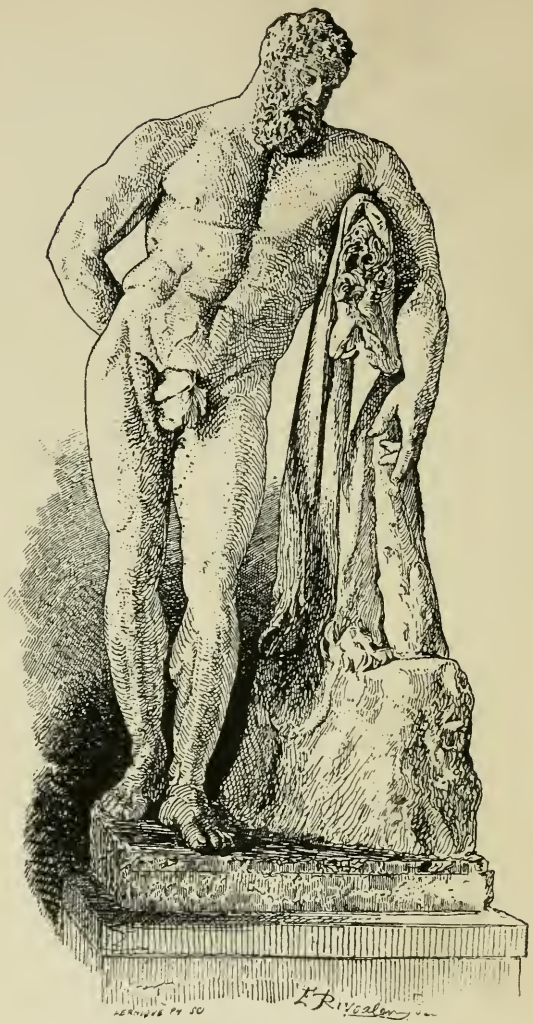

Fig. 134.—Farnese Hercules (Naples).

have been the prototype of the magnificent marble torso of the Vatican, which bears the signature of Apollonios, son of Nestor. Another Athenian sculptor who worked for Rome, Glycon, seems to have followed Lysippus in making his "Farnese Hercules" (fig. 134). He must have had the same model before him as the artist of the Herakles of the Pitti,[1] at Florence. In all probability, the Farnese statue furnishes some notion as to the Lysippean type of Herakles. The vigour of the hero is shown by his athletic build and the exaggerated muscular development; the small head is set upon an enormous neck. Leaning on his club, over which is thrown the lion skin, the hero seems to be resting after his labours; but the anxious expression of the features shows a certain depression, as if Herakles were overburdened by the sense of the fate which decrees for him the hardest tasks.

The adventures of his life on earth have always provided endless subjects for art. Even his childhood was full of marvels, and when he came to man's estate the expiation imposed on him by the Delphic oracle obliged him to enter the service of Eurystheus, forced him to signalise his journeyings through Greece, or in distant countries, by a never-ending series of feats. The legend is not purely Greek, but owes something to the Asiatic east. The originals of several of the labours of Herakles may be recognised in certain scenes represented on Phœnician or Assyrian monuments.[2] For instance, some hideous dwarfs strangling

[1] The Pitti statue has an inscription, certainly not genuine, which describes it as a work of Lysippus.

[2] See W. Mansell, in the *Gazette Archéologique*, 1879, pp. 114-19.

wild beasts or birds upon Phœnician scarabees or terra-cottas may have suggested to the Greek imagination certain episodes in the legend of Herakles; and the same may be true for the Assyrian Izdubar, who appears upon engraved cylinders, carrying off the lion he has defeated. Representations of this kind were carried by Phœnician traders into all the Greek countries round the Mediterranean; and it is easy to see the material for tales of the marvellous which would be found therein by the inquisitive mind of the Greeks, with its love of novelty. Naturally the hero of these tales would be Herakles, the famous slayer of monsters. Perpetually enriched from the stores of a lively imagination, the tale of the Theban hero came to include adventures of the most different kind; the Twelve Labours only represent a small part, and are a late classification of the mythographists who have left out episodes of an inferior class which they call *Πάρεργα* "extra tasks." But though the classification is not anterior to Euripides, art had been obliged to make a selection from among the toils of Herakles of the more important. The scenes figured on the metopes of Olympus are those classed by mythographists among the Twelve Labours, and are mentioned by Pausanias in the following somewhat reversed order :—

1. The boar of Erymanthus.
2. The combat against the three-headed Geryon.
3. The theft of the mares of Diomede.
4. Herakles and Atlas in the garden of the Hesperides.
5. The cleansing of the stables of Augias.
6. The fight with the Amazon Hippolyta.

7. The Cerynician stag (see fig. 135).
8. The Cretan bull.
9. The Hydra of Lerna.
10. The Stymphalian birds.
11. The Nemean lion.

Fig. 135.—Herakles and the Cerynician stag (vase-painting).

The description of the Greek traveller is incomplete, but German excavation[1] has shown that the twelfth

[1] See *Die Ausgrabungen von Olympia* (Berlin, 1877-81) and *Die Funde von Olympia* (Berlin, 1882); Bötticher, *Olympia*, gives a popular *résumé*.

metope represented Herakles binding Cerberus. Each of the Twelve Labours has been reproduced over and over again; vase-painters in especial delight in illustrating these most popular of legends, and sculpture found in them the subject for great decorative compositions. To quote one example only: the fight against the Nemean lion appears on the metopes of the so-called Theseion at Athens; it also formed part of the decoration of the pediment of the Herakleion at Thebes, attributed to Praxiteles, and was the subject of the group dedicated to Nicodamos in the Altis at Olympia.[1] It would be impossible to count the vases on which Herakles appears standing over the lion, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied by Iolaos, and helped by Athena or Hermes. Another favourite story is the scene with the Cretan bull, and this is shown in the metope from Olympia, now in the Louvre, where the composition is marked by the most masterly simplicity of treatment. Other scenes are less often reproduced. For instance, there are few examples in vase-paintings of the combat with the Stymphalian birds, a fact which gives a special interest to the amphora of the British Museum[2] collection, lately published by M. J. de Witte. Herakles is bringing down the evil birds with his sling; the birds are represented as cranes or ibises.

Connected with the Twelve Labours are stories which have come to be added to the original version.

[1] The list of bas-reliefs representing it is given by Zoega, *Bassirilievi*, ii., p. 53; but the list is not up to date.

[2] J. de Witte, "Hercule et les Oiseaux de Stymphale," *Gazette Archéologique*, 1876, pl. iii.

Thus the adventures of Herakles at the court of the Egyptian king Busiris is an incident of his voyage to the garden of the Hesperides. The reader no doubt remembers how the king, pitiless towards all strangers landing in Egypt, endeavoured to sacrifice Herakles, but was killed by him. Satiric drama and comedy helped to popularise the legend, and the vase-painter delighted in drawing the strange figures of the Æthiopians, the servants of Busiris, trying to bind the Greek hero. Again, it was while pursuing the boar of Erymanthus that the son of Alcmena engaged in combat with the Centaurs of Mount Pholoe. The fight with Alkyoneus, with Achelöos, with Geras, and the story of Deianira and the Centaur Nessus, are among the adventures of Herakles not included in the Twelve Labours. The reader need hardly be reminded how the death of Herakles, upon the pyre on Mount Œta, put an end to the trials of his life on earth, and how the hero, summoned to Olympus, was finally admitted to share the happiness of the gods. This part of his story is as rich in illustration as any other. The apotheosis of Herakles, and his marriage with Hebe, form the subject of many a vase-painting.[1] The hero undergoes a transfiguration: he receives the gift of immortal youth, and it is as a young man that he takes his seat amid the Olympians. But though the scene of his apotheosis was often represented in art with much dignity, it also offered a subject for the caricaturist. The *Frogs* of Aristophanes shows the grotesque aspect of Herakles in Greek comedy, and art sometimes drew its inspiration from the parody of

[1] See J. Roulez, "Death and Apotheosis of Hercules," *Annali dell Inst.*, 1847, p. 263-78.

the comic writer. An amusing painting on a vase now in the Louvre shows a grotesque view of the entrance of the hero into Olympus.[1] His chariot is drawn by Centaurs, preceded by a drunken Satyr; near him stands a hideous Nike, with the profile of a negress, and the hero himself has the foolish and grinning countenance of a comic mask.

§ 2. Other Heroic Cycles.

If it is remembered that while every Greek country furnished its local legends to the mythology of the whole, each artistic group underwent a development of its own, the method of dealing with subjects of the nature of the one under discussion will best be realized. The right thing to do would be to follow the geographical order, to investigate each myth separately, to collect together its representations in art, classify them, trace out the development of the types and of poetic feeling, till the time when the legend had become of slight importance to art. In this way might be studied successively the Attic legends, such as those of Theseus, of Cecrops and his daughters, and of the daughters of Pandion; the Theban group, in particular the stories of Œdipus, Cadmus, and Antiopa; the myths of Argos, Corinth, Laconia, Thessaly, Crete, and of the Trojan cycle.[2] But we can here only briefly touch on the more important myths, and describe the plastic type adopted by the artist to represent the various heroes.

[1] G. Perrot, "Le Triomphe d'Hercule, Caricature Grecque," *Monuments Grecs de l'Ass. des Études Grecques*, 1876.

[2] On the Trojan cycle see the work of Overbeck, *Bildwerke zum Thebischen und Troischen Heldenkreis* (Stuttgart, 1857).

Of all the heroes Theseus is the one who approaches most nearly to Herakles.[1] Like Alcmena's son, he accomplishes feats which mark the various stages of his journey from Troezene to Athens, and on through Attica. The more important deeds are represented on the metopes of the so-called Theseion at Athens, and appear in the following order :—

1. The fight with the Minotaur.
2. The story of the Bull of Marathon.
3. The victory over Sinis on the Isthmus of Corinth.
4. A scene of doubtful meaning, which may represent the defeat of Procrustes.
5. Theseus overthrowing the giant Periphetes, and seizing his club.
6. The combat with the Wrestler Cercyon.
7. The slaying of Sciron.
8. The slaying of the sow of Crommyon.

The likeness between these exploits and those of Herakles gives Theseus some points in common with the Theban hero ; he is represented as a vigorous youth, armed with the club. But his athletic development does not deprive him of grace ; the type of Theseus is always youthful, and his face shows the delicate beauty attributed to him in the story of his arrival in Attica. An ex-voto in the Louvre shows him clad in a chlamys, wearing a peaked helmet, and leaning on a long staff. This was the popular type of Theseus in Athenian tradition.

Of the heroes of Bœotia Œdipus is the most frequently represented, but the type given to him is not

[1] For all Attic myths see J. E. Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, Mythological Essay.

fixed with any great precision. In the scene of his visit to the Sphinx, vase-painters portray him as a young man in a travelling garb, with the petasos slung round his shoulders, and two lances in his hand. It is the presence of the Sphinx that identifies the subject of the painting. On a vase in the Vienna Museum, signed by Hermonax,[1] the monster is represented in front of Œdipus, upon the shaft of a column with an Ionic capital; its type answers in every point to the description by Apollodorus.[2] It has "a woman's face, the breast, paws, and tail of a lion, and the wings of a bird." Behind Œdipus crowd the Thebans, who have gathered to hear the answer to the riddle which the Sphinx asks of all travellers. Another Bœotian myth, the story of Amphion and Zethos, furnished the Trallian sculptors, Apollonios and Tauriscos, with the subject of a colossal group representing the two sons of Antiopa fastening Dirce upon a wild bull, to avenge the imprisonment of their mother by Dirce and her husband Lycus. The group is called the Farnese Bull. Compositions on such a scale as this are most common in the Alexandrian period. During the Hellenistic period artists were exceedingly fond of the less popular mythological tales, and sought in them the subjects of dramatic scenes. The tragic history of Medea is one of the favourite topics of Alexandrian art. Pompeian painters represent Medea on the point of killing her children, and some archæologists see in these paintings a reminiscence of the picture of Timomachus.

[1] Heydemann, "Edipo e la Sfinge," *Annali dell' Inst.*, 1867; see Jeep, *Die Griechische Sphinx* (Göttingen, 1854).

[2] Apollodorus, *Bibliothek*, iii., 5, 8.

The legends of the Peloponnesus are just as rich and varied as those of Northern Greece. The story of Bellerophon developed at Corinth, and its various episodes were engraved on the coins of the city. Although the conqueror of the Chimæra has himself no characteristics which distinguish him from any other hero, he is always recognisable by his winged horse,[1] Pegasus, and sometimes by the radiated halo which often surrounds his head. On vase-paintings this cycle only comes in late. The hero usually appears fighting against the Chimæra, "a monster of divine descent, with the head of a lion, the body of a goat, the tail of a snake, whose mouth breathes forth terrible and glowing flames."[2] Argos was the birthplace of Io, the daughter of Inachus, transformed by Zeus into a cow, and entrusted to the care of Argus, the giant with innumerable eyes. Argus appears in art as a huge being, whose body, covered with eyes, looks spotted like the skin of a panther. In later times so naïve a figure is unsuited to the more cultivated taste of the period; and the curious painting in the house of Livia, on the Palatine, shows how the art of the first century endeavoured to reconcile the demands of contemporary taste with respect for mythological tradition.

But the most popular of the Argive myths was the story of Perseus. The tale of the conqueror of the Gorgon supplies dramatic incidents, and brings Perseus into the presence of the terrible figures which early art loved to represent. The Gorgons were hideous beings; "Their heads were wreathed with snakes,

[1] On a terra-cotta plaque found at Melos, Pegasus has no wings.

[2] *Iliad*, vi., 179, and foll.

they had teeth like the tusks of the wild boar, hands of bronze, and golden wings."[1] The moment chosen by early artists is usually that when Perseus cuts off the head of Medusa, as on one of the metopes of Selinos. Sometimes the slaying is accomplished, and Perseus, with the bronze scimitar given him by Hermes, and the *kibisis*, or wallet, the present of the daughters of Phorkys, is departing in hot haste, holding in his hand the head of Medusa, who runs behind him without her head; her sisters Stheno and Euryale, closely pursue the flying hero. This forms the subject of several vase-paintings of early style, but other episodes in the story were also represented; for instance, on an Athenian pyxis, in the Louvre, Perseus appears surprising Medusa in her sleep.[2]

The head of Medusa, known as the Gorgoneion, became the regular emblem of terror; it was represented upon the ægis of Athena, and often treated separately as an independent figure. The study of the series of monuments in which it appears is very interesting, and brings out clearly the way in which the love of the beautiful ended by annihilating the vigorous conceptions of an earlier generation.[3] The Gorgoneion which appears on the coins of Athens, Corinth, and Coronea, is descended from the old type, and is frankly hideous. So, too, is the head on some terra-

[1] Apollodorus, *Biblioth.*, ii., 2.

[2] A. Dumont, "Pyxis Athénienne Représentant Persée et les Gorgones," *Monuments Grecs*, published by *l'Assoc. des Études Grecques*, 1878.

[3] See the essay of the Duc de Luynes on the work of Levezow, "Sur le Dévelopement du Type Idéal des Gorgones dans la Poésie et l'Art Figuré des Anciens," *Annali dell' Inst.*, 1834, p. 311.

cotta masks (fig. 136), of archaic workmanship, where, moreover, the ugliness of the face is enhanced by the brightness and crudeness of the colouring. As time went on, the type gradually softened, until it ended in attaining perfect beauty. The Medusa's head of the Villa Ludovisi is that of a lovely woman, and the little wings on the temples are the only vestiges left of the winged Medusa of early art.

Fig. 136.—Head of Medusa (terra-cotta).

In Laconia, the chief national heroes are the Dioscuri, the sons of Zeus and Leda. They often appear surmounting Spartan steles, and are represented as slim and strong young men, sometimes alone, sometimes holding their steeds by the bridle. At Athens they had a sanctuary on the north slope of the Acropolis.[1] Besides their air of youth and vigour

[1] J. E. Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, p. 151.

they are distinguished by wearing peaked caps. Sometimes stars over their heads, as, for instance, on some Etruscan mirrors and coins, recall their astral character.

The foregoing heroes are Greek in origin, and no less so in type and costume. But some of the Thracian and Asiatic myths enable the artist to represent figures of a foreign type; as, for example, Orpheus and the Amazons. But early art is not concerned with the correct reproduction of either dress or attributes, and the archaic artist bestows on the foreigner, whether he be Thracian, Mede, or Phrygian, the Greek type and costume, slightly modified in small points of detail. As to Orpheus, in particular, it is known that Polygnotus represented him in Greek dress in the paintings for the Lesche at Delphi, for Pausanias mentions the fact with some surprise. Later, the Thracian hero often appears, as already noted, on the Underworld vase, in Phrygian dress; he wears the tiara called a cidaris, from which his long hair flows unrestrained, the embroidered tunic, and the anaxyrides, or close trousers. Vase-paintings of the latest times show him thus, sometimes seated upon a rock playing the lyre, sometimes a prey to the rage of the women of Thrace. On a fine bas-relief of the Villa Albani, of which there are several replicas, he wears a dress that is partly Greek, namely, the tunic, the fur cap, called Alopekis, and the high boots which the Greeks sometimes borrowed from the Thracians.[1]

The Amazons are also foreigners. The most generally accepted tradition placed the home of these

[1] See book iv., chap. ii., fig. 121.

mythical heroines in the district of the Pontus, on the banks of the river Thermodon. Their legend was complex and varied,[1] but they always appeared as warriors fighting against the Greek heroes, such as Herakles, Theseus, and Bellerophon. They were said to have pursued Theseus, the ravisher of Antiope, as far as Attica, and thus they were connected with the legendary history of Athens. In representing the combat of the Amazons against the Greeks, art was dealing with a national story, and one, moreover, singularly suggestive. Scenes from this contest, full of movement, rich in contrasts, lent themselves admirably to sculptural composition on a large scale, and nothing further was wanted to justify their popularity among artists. It would take too long to give the list of the buildings decorated with subjects from the myth of the Amazons; mention must, however, be made of the frieze of the temple of Apollo Epikourios, at Bassæ, the frieze of the mausoleum of Halicarnassus, and the votive offering of Attalus to the Athenians. The subject is as popular in painting as in sculpture; Micon represented it upon the walls of the Stoa Poikile at Athens, and on the Theseion; Panainos on the barrier which surrounded the throne of Zeus at Olympia. In the fifth century B.C. the great Athenian artists, tradition said, took part in a competition held by the Ephesians for a statue of an Amazon, to be placed in their Artemision. Polyclcitus, Pheidias, Cresilas, Phradmon, and Kydon were among the competitors; and there is little doubt

[1] See Klügmann, *Die Amazonen in Attischen Litteratur und Kunst* (Stuttgart, 1875).

Fig. 137.—Amazon (Museo Chiaramonti).

that several statues of Amazons, now in various European museums, are copies of the works by these sculptors. Lucian tells us that the Amazon of Pheidias was wounded, and leaning upon her spear. It is possible that the statues in the *Salone* of the Capitol were derived from the work of Pheidias; and according to Overbeck, the marble figure in the Museo Chiaramonti, of the Vatican (fig. 137), may be a copy of some ancient type. A beautiful Amazon statue, standing in the Rotunda of the Berlin Museum, has been thought to echo the original of Polycleitus, but conjectures of this sort are hazardous.[1]

In sculpture the type of the Amazons is altogether Greek; they wear the short tunic, and often the Greek helmet. The object of the sculptor is not to produce an exact likeness of an Asiatic woman; realism is made subordinate to beauty, or rather, is altogether neglected; and the combination of drapery and nudity peculiar to the heroic figures offered more scope to the artist than the Eastern garment, which covered the whole form. The conditions of vase-paintings are quite different, but for some time vase-painters followed the tradition of sculptors. On vases of the old style, and on a certain number of the more finished vases, the Amazons wear the helmet, the short tunic, and the embades, or turned-back boots of a Greek rider. It is only on the best vase-paintings (fig. 138) that they appear in Asiatic dress, with the tiara and

[1] See Klügmann, "Statua d'Amazzone, der R. Museo di Berlino," *Annali dell' Inst.*, 1869, p. 272. A complete catalogue and discussion of these various scattered statues will be found in an article by A. Michælis, "Amazonen Statuen," in the *Jahrbuch* of the German Institute, vol. i., 1886, p. 1.

its floating streamers, the tunic of spotted hide, and the anaxyrides, fitting the legs, almost like chain armour. The Oriental costume enabled the vase-painter to mark out the Amazons from the Greek warrior, and, moreover, supplied him with a picturesque subject for displaying the skill of his brush in the

Fig. 138.—Amazon (vase-painting).

rendering of variegated and highly ornamented stuffs.

But it is difficult to believe that it was love of realism which led artists to adopt the later style; rather they were obeying the instincts which have always been predominant in Greek art. No matter what the story is that supplies the subject, the effort

of the Greek artist is directed to the production of beautiful and suggestive types, and thereby a serious danger is avoided; for while mythology furnishes stories for the imagination to draw upon, the worker is not bound down by the limitations imposed by symbolism. Sterile repetition of the same type is not necessitated by this method of treatment. It is by no means the least distinction of the Greek artist that he succeeded in uniting great freedom in the creation of types with a reverent conservatism in matters of mythological tradition.

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